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CONSERVATION AND INDIANA GUBERNATORIAL POLITICS, 1908-1916

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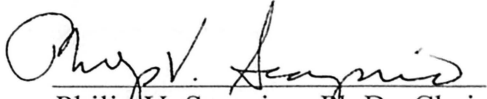
Master's Thesis
Committee

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Submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree
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in the Department of History,
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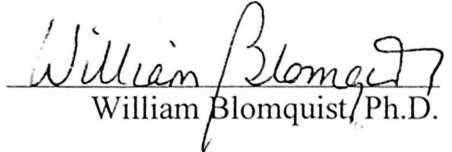
Accepted by the Faculty of Indiana University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Master of Arts.


Philip V. Scarpino, Ph.D., Chair

Dedicated to my wife, Christine


Annie Gilbert Coleman, Ph.D.

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Committee


William Blomquist, Ph.D.

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There are numerous people who assisted me with my thesis who need to be recognized. Dr. William Blomquist served on my committee and offered encouragement. Dr. Anne Gilbert Coleman strengthened my writing skills through her seminar class. Dr. Coleman's willingness to discuss my work during office hours helped my research and writing. Dr. Philip V. Searpino, my committee chair, somehow worked time for me into his busy schedule. His comments on multiple thesis drafts solidified my arguments and made for a better thesis.

My family also dedicated to my wife, Christine. Things that I did not want in order to complete my thesis, and their understanding made the thesis process much easier. My father, Losey Hackerd, along with Kathy, Josh, and Sabrina all have played an important part in my life and their interest in my work is gratifying. I thank my mother, Dr. Anita J. Ashendel, who listened to my ideas and made helpful suggestions. Her work ethic during her graduate studies served as a great example for me to follow while I pursued my Master's degree. Lastly, I thank my wife, Christine. Her editorial skills improved all of my papers and her confidence in my abilities always lifted my spirits. Her willingness to put her career goals on hold so I could attend graduate school will never go unappreciated.

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¹ Philip V. Scarpese, "Urban Evolution in the Indianapolis Region," David J. Bodenthauser and Robert G. Ralston, eds., (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 201.

² Clifton Phillips, *Industry in Transition: The Indianapolis Area in the Second Century, 1880-1920* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1927), 21-22.

Introduction

In the last half of the 19th century the industrial revolution and urban growth greatly changed American society and the relationship between people and their surrounding environment. A shift in the population occurred as more Americans moved from rural areas to the cities where people hoped to land jobs in factories. Factories mass produced goods at cheap costs thanks to new machines that worked faster than humans. These machines ran on energy, increasingly relying on coal. Coal created air pollution in the cities; soot accumulated in layers on houses. Factories also produced waste that often found its way into waterways, along with raw sewage from urban sewer systems. In Indianapolis during the last half of the 19th century, large numbers of pack animals such as horses left waste in the streets where flies, serving as disease carriers, found plenty to sustain them.¹ Human health deteriorated due to this pollution.

In the countryside, the industrial revolution and urban growth had significant effects as well. Even though population shifted from the countryside to the cities, rural America could produce more due to mechanical innovations. The combination of industrialization and urbanization increased demand for timber, agricultural products, and minerals. Indiana ranked in the top thirteen states in lumber production in the United States from 1879 to 1899, a time period that saw most of the state's forests destroyed and large acreages converted to fields for agricultural crops; though greatly increasing production, the advent of the stream-powered sawmill hastened this conversion.²

¹ Philip V. Scarpino, "Urban Environment," *The Encyclopedia of Indianapolis*, David J. Bodenhammer and Robert G. Barrows, eds. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), 201.

² Clifton Phillips, *Indiana in Transition: The Emergence of an Industrial Commonwealth, 1880–1920* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1968), 213–214.

The deteriorating urban environment and rapid, wasteful exploitation of natural resources caused increasing numbers of people to question what had been a common belief in the limitless abundance of nature. A growing interest in conservation became an important Progressive Era political issue. People wanted cleaner air, water, and living conditions. Lost natural resources, such as coal and timber, concerned some who feared that these resources could be extinguished by overuse.

Growing interest in conservation rested on a literary foundation. In 1864, George Perkins Marsh published Man and Nature, which examined humanity's impact on the environment. Marsh demonstrated a balance in nature between animals and the environment, but argued that humans did not fit into this balance because "man pursues his victims with reckless destructiveness...he unsparingly persecutes, even to extirpation, thousands of organic forms which he cannot consume."³ Because man did not fit into nature's balance, Marsh noted that man destroyed nature to his detriment. Forest destruction exacerbated soil erosion and floods caused increasing damage.⁴

The problems Marsh outlined gradually contributed to a reform movement that many called conservation. Conservation had various shades of meaning. In the first decade of the 20th century, when a politically significant and effective push for conservation occurred, conservation referred to various reform movements that sought to improve natural resources for human use, for better human health, and to preserve nature's beauty. Each definition found politicians willing to champion conservation to better the country and as a political issue to gain the citizenry's vote.

³ George Perkins Marsh, Man and Nature; or, Physical Geography as Modified by Human Action (New York: Charles Scribner & Co., 1864), 36-37.

⁴ Ibid., 38.

In the early 1900s, one end of the conservation spectrum grew directly out of concerns related to wasteful, inefficient use of resources associated with industrialization and urban growth. Conservationists of this type talked in terms of wise use of natural resources and scientific management by professionals. Gifford Pinchot, chief forester of the United States under President Theodore Roosevelt, headed this school of thought. Pinchot thought conservation consisted of three main points: development, waste prevention, and putting the needs of the many above the needs of the few.⁵

Pinchot's utilitarian view of nature prompted him and his supporters to endorse efforts that adhered to the three central points. Reforestation and regulated logging allowed business to log on a sustained basis, while reducing waste and the volume of silt-laden run off from the soil. Pinchot proposed multiple purpose waterway improvements in order to prevent waste and to harness the full range of a river's potential. Miners adopted more efficient methods for coal mining to prolong this valuable energy source. Ideally, natural resource conservation would lead to efficiently using valuable national treasures and ensure continued use for generations to come.

On the other end of the conservation spectrum, conservationists advocated preserving unspoiled remnants of the natural world. Unlike utilitarian conservationists, who used nature for its products, preservationists wanted to keep nature in its pristine condition, without any human "improvements." Preservationists such as John Muir, the Sierra Club's founder, wanted nature untouched by man, a place for people to get away from an increasingly industrialized civilization. Preservationist attitudes led to increasing support for state and national parks.

⁵ Gifford Pinchot, The Fight for Conservation (New York: Doubleday, Page, & Company, 1910), 43-46.

Gradually, public health concerns were incorporated into the conservation movement in what people of the time called human life conservation. Terrible sanitary conditions caused by industrialization and urban growth existed in cities where industrial complexes and family housing were side by side. Waste from factories, houses, and horses polluted the air and water, creating a public health crisis. The structures in which people lived did not alleviate the situation; poor ventilation and plumbing contributed to the unsanitary conditions. Groups and politicians advocated pure food laws, pollution controls, building codes, and sanitary conditions to combat the awful environment in which many city dwellers resided.

The Progressive movement in the early 1900s focused on reform to make government run as efficiently as possible, to improve the quality of people's lives, and to combat the often unintended, unanticipated consequences that industrialization and rapid urbanization caused. Conservation policies were touted by progressives along with restrictions on monopolies, movements for primary elections, the referendum, and recall.

David Cushman Coyle, a historian with extensive knowledge about conservation, noted that conservation policy came to the head of American thought as a way to conserve the nation's natural resources for the "best interests of the people."⁶ In Conservation: An American Story of Conflict and Accomplishment (1957), Cushman defined conservation as a controversy between those who wished to exploit the land for their own use and those who wanted to conserve it. Those who wished to conserve the land often did so claiming they acted on the people's behalf. Men such as Chief Forester

⁶ David Cushman Coyle, Conservation: An American Story of Conflict and Accomplishment (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1957), vii.

Gifford Pinchot and President Theodore Roosevelt strongly advocated vigorous conservation legislation and policy.

The conservation movement's portrayal as a battle between special interests and the good of the people has challengers. Samuel P. Hays wrote conservation "neither arose from a broad popular outcry, nor centered its fire primarily upon the private corporation."⁷ Hays insisted, in Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency (1959), that conservation's framing in this manner was inaccurate; the proper context was a scientific movement. Hays wrote, "Conservation, above all, was a scientific movement, and its role in history arises from the implications of science and technology in modern history."⁸ Through science, resources would be used more effectively and efficiently, eliminating waste and securing resource longevity. The "wise use" of natural resources became paramount as educated men in specific fields forwarded policy in this area to ensure that all take proper and informed measures.

Elmo Richardson combined the theses from such authors as Coyle and Hays to make a more comprehensive argument. Richardson portrayed conservation in The Politics of Conservation: Crusades and Controversies (1962) as both a "technically complex program" reliant on educated men (such as Hays claims) and as a movement that made effective use of people's "emotional appeal" (such as Coyle argues).⁹ Conservation policy arose from popular concerns and from programs set forth by educated experts. Richardson also expanded the inquiry's scope, not only looking at federal policy but also several western states, as did Coyle and Hays.

⁷ Samuel P. Hays, Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890–1920 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 1.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Elmo R. Richardson, The Politics of Conservation: Crusades and Controversies 1897–1913 (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), vii.

The American perception of the wilderness is the pressing matter for Roderick Nash when analyzing conservation. Nash insists, in Wilderness and the American Mind (1967), that conservation evolved due to Americans' changing attitudes toward nature.¹⁰ Initially, Americans feared nature and believed man must tame nature for humans to prosper. When natural resources began to diminish, the result of rapid, wasteful use stimulated by urban/industrial demand, Americans began to shift their view on nature. Americans started to believe that the wilderness provided them with life's essentials. This attitude change toward nature led men like Roosevelt and Pinchot to fight for the efficient use of nature in order to secure nature's usefulness for generations to come. Others, like John Muir, found nature so inspiring and awesome that it had to be preserved. Men like Muir found that nature's usefulness came from its beauty.

James Penick, Jr., returned the conservation debate back to politics with Progressive Politics and Conservation: The Ballinger Pinchot Affair (1968). Rather than conservation arising from a changing American mindset or from experts' new technical policies, conservation became a political weapon.¹¹ Conservation provided Roosevelt and Pinchot a way to keep the streams and forests away from large trusts that hoped to use the lands for their own benefit—to the detriment of the people, according to conservationists.¹²

John Reiger finds several errors in historians' previous works on conservation. First, historians typically date conservation's start too late. Second, credit for establishing the conservation movement is misplaced. In American Sportsmen and the

¹⁰ Roderick Nash, Wilderness and the American Mind (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), xi.

¹¹ James, Jr. Penick, Progressive Politics and Conservation: The Ballinger Pinchot Affair (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), xiii.

¹² Ibid., 9.

Origins of Conservation (1975), Reiger explained that conservation began in the 1870s as an upper class, not middle class, endeavor to secure good game supplies for hunting.¹³ Conservation, according to Reiger, was not used for political gamesmanship or as an exercise in scientific administration or as a way to study Americans' shifting attitudes toward nature. Rather, conservation was a way to secure a pastime for hunting enthusiasts.

Robert W. Righter challenges the notion of a conservationist who solely wanted to preserve nature. In, The Battle Over Hetch Hetchy, Righter details the conflict between utilitarian conservationists who wanted to dam the Hetch Hetchy valley in California to generate power for San Francisco and preservationists who wanted to keep the valley in its pristine condition.¹⁴ Righter argues that the preservationists did not want to prevent damming for the preservation of nature. Instead, Righter claims that those against the dam wanted to develop roads and hotels for natural tourism.

The various interpretations of the conservation movement from Coyle to Righter indicates the range and complexity of the conservation movement in the United States during the early twentieth century. The common denominator that binds the works of these authors together is a national focus on natural resource conservation. Any analysis of state conservation efforts focuses on western states and the tensions between federal and state policies.

There are several issues not addressed by historians that the research and analysis for this thesis incorporates into an examination of the Progressive Era conservation

¹³ John Reiger, American Sportsmen and the Origins of Conservation (Norman OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1975).

¹⁴ Robert W. Righter, The Battle Over Hetch Hetchy: America's Most Controversial Dam and the Birth of Modern Environmentalism (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).

movement: (1) the unity between natural resource and human life conservation; (2) the cross-class appeal of conservation; (3) and, a state-level examination of the politics of conservation in Indiana.

People who lived in the Progressive Era viewed the conservation of natural resources and human life as two interrelated issues that were important because they both confronted challenges posed by industrialization and urbanization. Modern historians have tended to separate these two issues and to focus on resource conservation. Gifford Pinchot, a leading conservationist, acknowledged that conservation applied to the “prevention of waste and loss, the protection of the public interests by foresight” in addition to natural resources.¹⁵ George M. Kober, a Professor of Hygiene at Georgetown University during the Progressive Era, noted that increased sewage from growing urban areas along with waste created by factories in an increasingly industrialized America produced unsanitary conditions that bred disease. Kober urged people to work, “hand in hand, with heart and tongue, (to) join in promoting the welfare of the American Nation by the conservation of health and life and all our natural and wonderful resources.”¹⁶ Kober recognized that human health and natural resource conservation were tied together since industrialization and urbanization caused resources to dwindle and people to live in unhealthy conditions. Ohio governor, Andrew L. Harris concurred with Kober’s conclusions and declared “the conservation of human life,” of paramount significance.¹⁷ Governor Harris applied human life conservation to water purity and to workplace safety. Harris wanted regulations enacted to prevent injury and loss of life for people who

¹⁵ Pinchot, *The Fight for Conservation*, 49.

¹⁶ WJ McGee, *Proceedings of a Conference of Governors* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1909), 258.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 330.

extracted natural resources for use like miners and loggers.¹⁸ Since the people of the early 1900s saw the direct connection between natural resource and human life conservation, it makes sense to examine both as part of an integrated analysis of conservation in the Progressive Era.

Combining natural resource and human life conservation in a common analytical framework highlights the degree to which conservation was a cross-class movement. John Reiger claims that conservation stemmed from upper-class citizens trying to preserve hunting grounds for their recreational pleasure. Certainly many upper-class people did carry out conservation efforts to save hunting areas, particularly in the late 1800s, but this does not explain how human health activities in the cities to alleviate unsanitary conditions became part of the conservation movement. Reiger's argument also fails to explain why Progressive-Era politicians would appeal to working class voters about conservation, people who generally did not have the time or resources to go on many hunting trips.

The third challenge posed by works about Progressive-Era conservation is their national scope, which leaves in-depth analysis of individual states lacking. None give a solid political analysis of Indiana's conservation movement during the Progressive Era's peak, 1908–1916. Industrialization and rapid urbanization affected many Hoosier citizens during the Progressive Era. Conservation offered a solution to overuse and pollution that Hoosiers observed in their daily lives. Politicians did not ignore what conservation could offer them as a political tool. Through the adoption of conservation issues and policies during campaigns and terms in office, politicians addressed concerns that urbanities had about nature and about their poor health.

¹⁸ Ibid.

Many Indiana histories touch on conservation, but do not go into specific details about its political uses. James H. Madison's The Indiana Way, a comprehensive overview of Indiana history, barely mentions conservation and its role in Indiana during the Progressive Era, except to say that human health conservation was one of the time period's main progressive reforms.¹⁹ Clifton J. Phillips' Indiana in Transition does devote a chapter to conservation, with useful statistics about coal production, but does not address how politics influenced conservation's course during the Progressive Era.²⁰

This is not to say there has not been any in-depth historical analysis of Indiana conservation. Three theses completed at Indiana University/Purdue University, Indianapolis, explore various aspects of the conservation story in Indiana. Glory-June Greiff has a detailed work regarding Indiana state parks and the New Deal; David Benac offers analysis of the timber industry's efforts regarding conservation from 1890–1920; and, Jerry Wheeler analyzes Governor Paul McNutt's political strategy and conservation during the 1930s.²¹ Although these theses do deal with conservation, they do not cover Progressive-Era politics, when conservation first received wide-spread attention and popularity in Indiana.

Through the study of Indiana gubernatorial politics, conservation policy can be analyzed on the state level. During the Progressive Era, Indiana had two Democratic governors, Thomas Riley Marshall and Samuel Moffett Ralston (1909–1917). Works concerning Marshall and Ralston are very broad, covering their entire lives and terms as

¹⁹ James H. Madison, The Indiana Way: A State History (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 222.

²⁰ Phillips, Indiana in Transition, 181-223.

²¹ Glory-June Greiff, "Parks for the People: New Deal Work Projects in Indiana State Parks" (Master's Thesis, Indiana University, 1992), David Benac, "Hoosiers, Timber, and Conservation: The Timber Industry's Role in Indiana's Conservation Movement, 1890–1920" (Master's Thesis, Indiana University, 1997), Jerry L. Wheeler, "Fish, Pheasants and Politics: Paul McNutt and the Popularization of Conservation in 1930s Indiana" (Master's Thesis, Indiana University, 2002).

Indiana's chief executives.²² Due to the enormous scope of these publications, analysis of Marshall and Ralston's conservation efforts and politics is thin at best.

The authors who wrote about Marshall and Ralston did not deeply explore the relationship Marshall and Ralston had with conservation and the use of this issue in their campaigns and administrations. Rollo Mosher, Charles Thomas, and Suellen Hoy all acknowledge Marshall and Ralston contributed to the conservation movement through their efforts as governor, but their analysis is limited. Frank E. Smith claims in The Politics of Conservation (1966) that conservation could not play a role in Indiana politics because "there was little political capital to be made in the issue outside the western-states."²³ Smith's statement fails to take into consideration that state parties outside of the West could champion conservation politically because of the lack of federal action concerning Indiana conservation. Western states had many national parks and land reserves that the federal government controlled, and as a result historians tend to focus on these states. The lack of federal action in Indiana did not mean that conservation failed to resonate with the people or that it was not used as a political issue.

Beginning with Marshall's candidacy for governor in the 1908 election, the Indiana Democratic Party adopted conservation for its political uses. How could Democrats in Indiana take conservation, an issue made popular by a Republican president, Theodore Roosevelt, and make it their own? How did so much legislation

²² Several of the works on governors Marshall and Ralston are; Thomas R. Marshall, Recollections of Thomas R. Marshall: Vice-President and Hoosier Philosopher, A Hoosier Salad (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1925), Rollo E. Mosher, "Tom Marshall's Term as Governor" (Master's Thesis, Indiana University, 1932), Charles M. Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall: Hoosier Statesman (Oxford, OH: The Mississippi Valley Press, 1939), Suellen M. Hoy, "Samuel M. Ralston: Progressive Governor, 1913-1917" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1975).

²³ Frank E. Smith, The Politics of Conservation (New York: Pantheon Books, 1966), 2.

regarding conservation come from Indiana leadership? The answers lie in Indiana's political environment in 1908.

The intertwined movement advocating conservation of natural resources human-life had an important and influential champion in President Theodore Roosevelt. During his term from 1901–1909, Roosevelt brought conservation to America's political forefront. Anxious to build popular support for his administration during his first term, Roosevelt looked for public approval through his conservation initiatives.²⁴ Roosevelt claimed conservation was “the most weighty question now before the people of the United States.”²⁵ Indiana's first state forester, Charles C. Deam claimed, “Teddy changed the sentiment of the whole country regarding conservation. Why, you didn't dare plant a tree before his administration without fear of being shot.”²⁶ Deam's analysis of Hoosiers' attitudes about conservation is accurate. The first call for conservation in Indiana fell on deaf ears in 1881, when Purdue Professor Charles L. Ingersoll argued that the time had come for Indiana to start scientific forestry practices. The call was ignored, and most of the state's forests were cut from 1870 to 1900 to make room for agricultural crops.²⁷ Hoosiers disregarded Ingersoll's words because they did not perceive a problem with their land-clearing habits. A.C. Stevenson, former president of the State Board of Agriculture, personified the hostility toward conservation before Theodore Roosevelt's administration. The Indiana State Board of Agriculture's 1880–1881 Annual Report claimed Stevenson's opinion toward conservation was very negative, writing that Stevenson's attitude was that “the best thing to do was to kill every tree. One or two

²⁴ Richardson, The Politics of Conservation, 19.

²⁵ McGee, Proceedings of a Conference of Governors, vi.

²⁶ Joan Schaub, “Conservation Pioneer, Charles C. Deam,” Outdoor Indiana (1 November 1947): 6.

²⁷ Phillips, Indiana in Transition, 212.

crops of wheat or two years of pasture for stock will pay for all the timber you keep standing for forty years.”²⁸ Roosevelt increasingly stressed conservation during his second term in office and he “personally embodied the popular impulses which swung behind the conservation movement.”²⁹

Frustrated with a lack of Congressional action on conservation issues, Roosevelt decided to take his ideas about conservation to the people. Under the direction of Roosevelt’s chief forester, Gifford Pinchot, the executive branch staged events to bring about public awareness and support. In 1905, Pinchot called a Forest Congress to meet in Washington to arouse public interest in forestry and to persuade Congress that the populace favored forestry laws.³⁰ Roosevelt and Pinchot also journeyed down the Mississippi River as a publicity event to endorse and focus public opinion on inland waterway conservation.³¹

Roosevelt had these publicity tactics in mind when he invited the governors, men of industry, educators, and federal officials to the White House for a grand meeting to discuss conservation. Like his previous efforts, Roosevelt hoped to raise public support and interest in conservation. From May 13 to May 15, 1908, the Conference of the Governors of the States dealt with many pressing issues, such as the conservation of mineral fuels and land resources, sanitation, reclamation, grazing, water resources, and power generation.³²

The Conference of the Governors mainly dealt with natural resource conservation, but by 1908 Roosevelt also popularized human health conservation and it manifested

²⁸ Ibid., 212–213.

²⁹ Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency*, 270–271.

³⁰ Ibid., 138–139.

³¹ Ibid., 139.

³² McGee, *Proceedings of a Conference of Governors*, xiii–xvi.

itself with the sanitation discussion at the Conference.³³ It is significant that the Conference of the Governors was the first time in American history that all the states' governors were invited to a meeting to discuss policy matters. Such an unprecedented event drew great attention to conservation. Newspapers across the country carried articles that contained speeches from experts on the way conservation benefited the people and the entire nation. In 1957, Coyle wrote that Theodore Roosevelt used the Conference of the Governors to stamp "the doctrine of conservation on the minds of the American people."³⁴ Hays agreed with Coyle's assessment and claimed this appeal to the general public for conservation support was part of a "veritable crusade" to root conservation into the minds of the public at large.³⁵ Penick added that the Conference of the Governors appealed "directly to the people," helping broaden the conservation movement.³⁶

Indianapolis newspapers wrote page after page about the conference. The Indianapolis Star previewed the event with large front-page pictures of important principles such as Gifford Pinchot, WJ McGee, Senator Francis G. Newlands, and Senator Francis Warner.³⁷ An accompanying article proclaimed:

For the first time since the Republic was founded the Governors of the states are assembling in Washington for a conference with the President of the United States. As this conference, which begins tomorrow and last three days, the paramount theme will be a discussion of ways and means of conserving the Nation's vast resources.³⁸

³³ Hays, Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency, 176.

³⁴ Coyle, Conservation, 66.

³⁵ Hays, Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency, 122.

³⁶ Penick, Progressive Politics and Conservation, 9.

³⁷ Indianapolis Star, 13 May 1908.

³⁸ Ibid.

The Conference of the Governors' complete coverage continued for the three-day event, and gave detailed accounts of what transpired. On May 14, Indiana garnered attention because it proved to be an excellent example of soil deterioration and demonstrated why crops desperately need to be rotated.³⁹ Indiana's governor at the time, J. Frank Hanly, attended the Conference of the Governors, heard all the scientific reports, and spoke during the meeting. Such participation can lead one to conclude that Hanly was in full sympathy with conservation efforts. Hanly, however, hardly considered himself a conservationist.

J. Frank Hanly was a Republican like Roosevelt, but found other matters much more pressing than conservation. Hanly exerted his foremost efforts during his term to combat vice—particularly, the fight against alcohol.⁴⁰ Initially, Hanly seemed to understand the Conference of Governor's significance and conservation's importance. Hanly told reporters that:

The conference is so representative in character, so unusual and the subjects it is considering are of such importance that it will challenge the thought of the entire country and will ultimately lead to the ending of abuses which have wasted the Nation's natural resources and to the wise development of those resources.⁴¹

Hanly's actions and words after this first encouraging statement conflict with the feelings that this statement put forward.

Hanly started his official comments during the conference by once again acknowledging the conference's importance and proclaiming himself fully sympathetic

³⁹ Indianapolis Star, 15 May 1908.

⁴⁰ Leslie Ward Carson, The Life of J. Frank Hanly: Log Cabin Boy to Governor, Master's Thesis: University of Illinois, 1928, 27.

⁴¹ Indianapolis Star, 14 May 1908.

with its efforts.⁴² Hanly's skepticism, however, reared its head after these friendly words. Hanly voiced concerns that conservation would limit production in the country and harm the economy:

If we limit the output of coal or of iron, do we not invite at once the very condition we have been seeking to avoid, the immediate importation of these natural products from other lands? This is true of forestry, too. How are you going to place a limitation upon the rights of the citizen who owns a forest tract to convert it into useful products?⁴³

Hanly failed to completely understand conservation, thinking it would severely limit the resource use rather than expand their usefulness for years to come.

At the same time, Indianapolis press coverage of Hanly's speech at the conference reveals the shock at his unsympathetic words.

A great deal of talk has been caused among the delegates by the speech of Governor Hanly of Indiana at the conference of Governors when the conservation of natural resources was under discussion. The Governor's speech was characterized by one delegate as "both a knock and a boost," and is being widely quoted.⁴⁴

Compared to the daily stories about conservation's grand importance covered in the newspapers during the three-day conference, Hanly's words seemed out of touch with the conference's goals and the positive tone of coverage by his home-state papers.

The Conference of the Governors adopted many resolutions that expressed enthusiasm about conservation. To great applause and cheers, Missouri Governor Joseph W. Folk announced he would go home to Missouri and appoint a state forestry commission and forester and noted that every governor should do the same thing.⁴⁵ In response, Wyoming Governor Bryant B. Brooks stated, "I was delighted to hear the

⁴² McGee, Proceedings of a Conference of Governors, 215.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 215.

⁴⁴ Indianapolis Star, 19 May 1908.

⁴⁵ McGee, Proceedings of a Conference of Governors, 159.

Governor from Missouri say he is going home to appoint a forestry commission. We want a forestry commission in every state of the Union, and we want state protection of our forest reserve as far as possible.”⁴⁶ Conservation as a state issue gained significant strength due to the Conference of the Governors. State conservation efforts needed a boost because they were of minor significance until 1908, when the Conference of the Governors emphasized their involvement.⁴⁷

Governor Hanly dutifully voted with his fellow governors to support a resolution—proposed by voice vote at the conference’s end—that recommended appointing a natural resource conservation commission and called for forest conservation; irrigation improvements; water supply conservation; waste prevention in coal, oil, and gas mining and extraction; and human life conservation.⁴⁸ The Conference of the Governors successfully rallied public and state governmental conservation support. Historian Clifton Phillips notes the Conference of the Governors specifically heightened conservation interest in Indiana in 1908.⁴⁹ But, after the Conference of the Governors’ conclusion, Hanly did not act on the strong public approval the conference generated toward conservation.

Prohibition consumed most of Hanly’s time and effort. Hanly’s concern reached such high levels that he took a very radical step by calling a special session of the Indiana General Assembly to secure strict anti-alcohol legislation in the form of the county option. The law Hanly advocated eventually passed and allowed counties to vote on whether or not to become “dry” (alcohol prohibited) or “wet” (alcohol not prohibited).

⁴⁶ Ibid., 162.

⁴⁷ A.F. Gustafson, C.H. Guise, W.J. Hamilton, Jr., H. Ries, eds., Conservation in the United States (Ithaca, New York: Comstock Publishing Associates, a Division of Cornell University Press, 1949), 28.

⁴⁸ McGee, Proceedings of a Conference of Governors, 194.

⁴⁹ Phillips, Indiana in Transition, 220.

The county option's restrictiveness prevented a town in a dry county from serving alcohol even if the vast majority of its residents were in favor because the majority of the entire county voted in favor of the action. Hanly's focus on prohibition and the restrictive county option law contributed to a split in the Indiana Republican Party.

Indiana Republican Party leaders saw Hanly's actions as heavy handed. The Hoosier commented:

Governor Hanly has assumed the role of dictator and by his action in calling a special session of the legislature he has brought down bitter denunciation from practically all of the leaders who are burdened with the task of carrying the state for the Republicans at the coming elections.⁵⁰

The push for prohibition helped split the Indiana Republican Party and charted a course that was anything but favorable to the welfare of Hanly's party.⁵¹ Historian James H. Madison claimed that Hanly's push for prohibition was a significant contributing factor to the Republican's loss of the 1908 gubernatorial election.⁵²

Into this divided Indiana Republican Party stepped the Democrats. Out of the governor's office since 1896, Democrats looked for any issue that could take votes away from Republicans. Opposed to the county-option liquor law, which passed in the special legislative session, the Democrats unsuccessfully offered a local option plank that would have enabled wards and townships to decide if they wanted to enact prohibition. This law would have permitted particular sections of a county to remain wet even if the rest of the county was dry. Neither Governor Hanly nor the 1908 Republican gubernatorial candidate, James E. Watson, embraced the positive sentiment in conservation's favor that followed the 1908 Conference of Governors. Richardson notes that political leaders on

⁵⁰ Hoosier, 11 September 1908.

⁵¹ Bartholomew, H.S.K. "Thomas R. Marshall," Indiana Magazine of History 37, No.1 (March 1941): 37.

⁵² Madison, The Indiana Way, 225.

many levels, even state party leadership armed themselves with conservation ideals and made conservation part of the progressive crusade.⁵³ In 1910 a resurgent Democratic organization in Oregon strengthened local support of conservation while the Republicans were “weakened by internal dissensions.”⁵⁴ The landscape of Indiana politics from 1908-1916 resembled the situation in Oregon. Hanly’s ambivalent attitude toward conservation after the Conference of Governors only strengthened the Democratic claims that the Democratic Party was conservation’s true party.

Beginning in 1904, Progressive ideas divided Indiana Republicans and in 1906 the Republicans saw their margins of victory shrink due to these problems.⁵⁵ The first two years of Roosevelt’s second term, 1905 and 1906, were characterized by cleavage developing between the party’s progressive and conservative elements.⁵⁶ The progressive-conservative split is demonstrated by Hanly backing Charles Warren Fairbanks—the “epitome of standpat conservatism”—for president in 1908 while other factions of the Indiana Republicans favored Roosevelt’s handpicked replacement, William Howard Taft.⁵⁷ During the Republican National Convention held in Chicago, Hanly rose to nominate Fairbanks for president and was not received well. During Hanly’s speech “All bedlam broke loose when Hanly covertly attacked Roosevelt” and rude calls for “the hook” were echoed throughout the hall.”⁵⁸ Hanly took this personally

⁵³ Richardson, The Politics of Conservation, 121.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 124.

⁵⁵ Phillips, Indiana in Transition, 95.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 106.

⁵⁷ Madison, The Indiana Way, 220.

⁵⁸ Lawrence M. Bowman, “Forum: The Readers Corner,” Indianapolis Star Magazine, (1 May 1977): Clippings Folder, Indiana State Library, Indiana Division.

and vowed to make people pay for it in the November election, a decision that completely disorganized the Republicans.⁵⁹

In 1912, the split in the Republican Party widened. This time, it was not only the Indiana Republican Party, but also the national Republican Party. On both a state and national level, Progressives exited the Republican fold and formed the Progressive Party under Theodore Roosevelt's leadership. Conservatives filled the remaining Republican Party and dominated the Indiana Republican Party after the split, playing a major role in making the Democrats dominant in Indiana from 1909–1916.⁶⁰ Using divide-and-conquer tactics, the Indiana Democrats effectively campaigned on progressive conservation ideas that their party adopted to take advantage of the Republican split, hoping to gain votes and maintain the disintegration of the Indiana Republican Party.

Governor Hanly's inaction regarding conservation issues left a great opportunity for the Indiana Democratic Party to exploit these themes for their political benefit. In successive gubernatorial elections in 1908 and 1912, the Democratic candidates for governor, Thomas Riley Marshall and Samuel Moffett Ralston, made conservation's cause their own and used the issue to help cipher votes away from a splintered Indiana Republican Party and retain more progressive Democrats. Democratic electoral victories led by Marshall and Ralston ushered in a period of important conservation legislation and law enforcement unprecedented until this point in Indiana history.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Madison, *The Indiana Way*, 221.

Chapter One:

Thomas Marshall and the 1908 Gubernatorial Campaign

Thomas Riley Marshall, born on March 14, 1854, spent the majority of his childhood in the small town of Pierceton, Indiana, and later attended Wabash College.¹ At Wabash, Marshall joined the Lyceum Society, a debating club, where he developed a sound oratorical technique that assisted him well in his political career.² After graduating from college in 1873, Marshall moved to Columbia City, Indiana, and read law in the offices of Hooper and Olds and was admitted to the bar on March 31, 1875.³

At the age of 26, Marshall entered his first political campaign as the Democratic candidate for prosecuting attorney in the Kosciusko-Whitley County Judicial District.⁴ Marshall lost this race by 571 votes, but his political aspirations did not wane. In 1884, Marshall became the county campaign manager for Thomas A. Hendricks and, in 1896, he was elected the Twelfth District Democratic Committee chairman, a position he held until 1900, after which local Democratic leaders recruited him to run for Congress in 1906, an invitation that Marshall declined.⁵

Through Marshall's party activities and his reputation as a sound lawyer, Marshall built a solid popularity in Indiana's Twelfth Congressional District. His friends swore by him, newspaper accounts verified his notoriety, and people—from ditch diggers to bankers to ministers—knew his name.⁶ During Marshall's life, before the 1908 gubernatorial campaign, conservation did not play a significant role. Marshall's memoirs

¹ Charles M. Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall: Hoosier Statesman (Oxford, Ohio: The Mississippi Valley Press, 1939), 13–14.

² Rollo E. Mosher, "Tom Marshall's Term as Governor" (Master's Thesis, Indiana University, 1932), 5.

³ Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 19.

⁴ Mosher, "Tom Marshall's Term as Governor," 11.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 14–16.

⁶ Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 30.

show his ambivalence toward conservation. Marshall noted that if his grandfather had undertaken sound forestry practices, hundred foot walnut trees that he cut down two generations ago would have generated over half a million dollars in lumber for Marshall. Marshall, however, did not lament his grandfather's decision. Marshall stated, "who is there of us who dares to say that there may not have been a providential intent in the destruction of this lumber?"⁷

Something caused Marshall to alter his attitude toward conservation. As the political winds shifted in Indiana, Thomas Marshall became intimately involved with human life and natural resource conservation in order to improve the lives of fellow Hoosiers, to assist him in his bid for the governor's office in 1908, and to maintain his personal and party popularity after entering office.

In 1906, the Indiana Democratic platform only had a minor reference to anything related to conservation, but this lack of substance soon changed. The only germane plank, which dealt with human conservation, advocated that a state mine inspector should be a gubernatorial appointment, allowing the governor to have stronger control over the inspector to ensure that Indiana mine regulations were enforced completely.⁸ In 1908, the Indiana Democratic Party added several new planks to the platform, planks intended to help ensure victory in November.

The 1908 Indiana Democratic platform highlighted three key conservation issues. First, like the 1906 platform, the 1908 platform still called for a governor-appointed state mine inspector. The Indiana Democrats advocated for a mine inspector to attract miners

⁷ Thomas Riley Marshall, The Recollections of Thomas R. Marshall, Vice-President and Hoosier Philosopher: A Hoosier Salad (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis), 56.

⁸ John B. Stoll, History of the Indiana Democracy, 1816–1916 (Indianapolis: Indiana Democratic Publishing Company, 1917), 402.

to their cause. Ensuring safer working conditions would lead to union support. The Indiana Democratic Party added two new planks in 1908, one dealing with natural resource conservation and the other dealing with human life conservation.

The Democratic Party now called for the federal government to make “liberal appropriations for the improvement and development of the interior waterways.”⁹ This Indiana Democratic platform plank came directly from the multiple-purpose river development concept President Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot solidly established in the public consciousness by 1908.¹⁰ Improved inland waterways utilized the otherwise wasted and unused potential of rivers, making transportation for humans and goods cheaper. By adopting inland waterway improvement as their own, Indiana Democrats attempted to appeal to Republican voters who were dissatisfied with their state party’s inaction on this issue and to capture the overall spirit of reform that the Progressive Era engendered.

The Indiana Democratic platform also favored “pure food and drug legislation.”¹¹ The publication of Upton Sinclair’s The Jungle in 1906 rallied public support behind pure food laws and the Roosevelt administration dutifully oversaw the passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act and Meat Inspection Act in 1906. Democrats could not ignore the popular support for legislation concerning human life and natural resource conservation and they included these issues in their platform to prove they were in the spirit of reform and willing to stand up for the average citizen. The New York Times characterized political environment of 1908 as a “great Progressive wave” that swept the Midwest.¹²

⁹ Stoll, History of the Indiana Democracy, 406.

¹⁰ Hays, Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency, 5.

¹¹ Stoll, History of the Indiana Democracy, 406.

¹² New York Times, 5 May 1912.

Democrats' and Marshall's adoption of conservation indicates that they wanted to use the wave to help them win the election.

Democrats could not ignore the popular support for President Roosevelt in 1908. In 1904, huge numbers of Indiana Democrats voted for Roosevelt.¹³ To gain some of these voters back, the Indiana Democratic Party adopted one of Roosevelt's more popular and visible policies, conservation.

Governor Hanly's administration allowed Indiana Democrats to pursue policy in Indiana regarding human life and natural resource conservation because the Republican administration did not address those issues. The Indiana Republican Party focused on other issues, mainly touting its stance against alcohol consumption and its pledges to execute sound fiscal policy with state finances. The Indiana Republican Party, in 1908, split between conservatives and progressives. As governor, Hanly acted as a significant leader of the Indiana Republicans and did not adopt conservation. By championing the reform measures that Hanly rejected, Democrats hoped to convince weary Republicans and skeptical independents that the Democrats were the true party of reform and the people. Thomas Marshall's rhetoric and the Democratic Party's unity behind platform pledges during the campaign highlighted Indiana Democrats' progressive shift and led to electoral success.

The 1908 Indiana State Democratic Convention

Entering the Indiana Democratic Convention, Thomas Marshall was not the favorite to win. Samuel M. Ralston, favored by party boss Thomas Taggart, and L. Ert Slack, supported by the anti-Taggart group, were the foremost candidates. Taggart exerted great control over the Indiana Democratic Party from the end of the nineteenth

¹³ Indianapolis News, 2 November 1908.

century to the first quarter of the twentieth century, leading Taggart to be called “the undisputed boss of the Democratic machine in Indiana.”¹⁴ Taggart’s control over the Democratic Party, however, did not manifest itself during the 1908 convention. With neither party faction willing to see the other win, Marshall became a compromise candidate upon whom all could agree. The anti-Taggart faction liked Marshall because it knew Taggart would not be able to dominate him and the Taggart forces liked Marshall because he was a solid party man who would not deliberately attack Taggart.¹⁵ Marshall spoke about the need for unity before the convention in a speech in January 1908. Marshall said victory could be achieved if “Democrats are not this kind of a Democrat, nor that kind of a Democrat, but they are just plain Democrats.”¹⁶ With Marshall’s nomination, Democrats were united behind a popular leader.

Marshall won on the fifth convention ballot. Marshall’s former opponent, L. Ert Slack, escorted Marshall to the stage as a sign of unity.¹⁷ Marshall knew that factions and infighting over the candidate and platform would hurt the party’s chances in the general election. Marshall felt Democrats fought more with each other than the Republicans, and “unity banquets”—held to bring Democrats together—often were “incipient riots,” and those who attended the banquets “usually went away far more set in their views and far more disgusted with those who did not agree with them.”¹⁸ Hoping to bury intra-party conflict, Marshall issued a call for unity before accepting the Democratic nomination.

¹⁴ James Philip Fadely, Thomas Taggart: Public Servant, Political Boss 1856-1929 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1997), xii.

¹⁵ Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 48–49.

¹⁶ Untitled Letter, Thomas Riley Marshall, January 1908. Thomas Riley Marshall Papers, Indiana State Library, Manuscript Section, Box 1 L100, “Correspondence & Speeches and Writings,” Folder 12, “Speeches and Writings 1908.” 3.

¹⁷ Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 49.

¹⁸ Marshall, The Recollections of Thomas R. Marshall, 159-160.

Marshall lamented factions that made up the Democratic Party from 1896 to 1908. Marshall said, "You could find Jacksonian Democrats, Jefferson Democrats, Parker Democrats and Bryan Democrat; the party was a party of hyphenated Democrats."¹⁹ Hoping to heal rifts within his own party and exploit the apparent factions in the Republican Party, Marshall stated after the convention, "I appreciated the great honor of the nomination but that unless every man in the convention would rise to his feet, lift his hand to Heaven and pledge me from that time forward just to be a Democrat and nothing else, I should be compelled to decline the nomination."²⁰ Luckily for the Democrats and Marshall, his words had the desired affect. The convention delegates all stood and wildly cheered for Marshall, and he accepted the nomination. H.S.K. Bartholomew, who knew Marshall and wrote biographical essays on him and other Indiana governors, said it best, "For the first time in sixteen years, Democrats were thoroughly united."²¹

The newspapers marveled at the brilliance of Marshall's astute political move. The Indianapolis Star remarked, "Marshall's strength came from all classes of people and from all parts of the state."²² Grudging acknowledgement of Marshall's quality as candidate came from Republicans as well. Commenting on the 1908 campaign, William Dudley Foulke, an important Wayne County Republican and former Indiana State Senator (1883-1885), told President Roosevelt, "Marshall, the Democratic nominee for Governor, is a strong man with a clean record."²³ Praise also came in for the platform as

¹⁹ Ibid., 160.

²⁰ Ibid., 163.

²¹ H.S.K. Bartholomew, "Thomas R. Marshall," Indiana Magazine of History 37, No.1 (March 1941): 40.

²² Indianapolis Star, 27 March 1908.

²³ Letter, William Dudley Foulke to President Theodore Roosevelt, 29 July 1908. William Dudley Foulke Papers, Indiana State Library, Manuscript Section, Box L56, "Correspondence 1849-1921," 1 of 3, Folder 4 of 13, "Correspondence 1908."

well. "The Platform of the Democracy is also an excellent one, easily understood and positive in its declarations, and the people have the confidence both in platform and candidates."²⁴ Marshall gained "an enviable reputation as a highminded citizen, and effective campaigner... There were no faction troubles to disturb the Democratic camp."²⁵ The measures that the Democrats advanced in their platform, notably conservation, were praised, and Marshall was hailed as an effective leader.

The Indiana Republican Party did not match the unity that the Democrats shared after their convention. Republican enthusiasm for their gubernatorial candidate, James E. Watson, and the party platform did not exist. An editorial in the Indianapolis Sun best explained the situation of the Republican Party:

The Republicans of Indiana are not unanimously joyful over the candidate for governor chosen at Thursday's convention. The Watson delegates are glad, and their followers are shouting. But a large and militant minority of the convention and in the Republican Party is disappointed. They are good losers, these minority leaders, but they are uncertain when they consider November.²⁶

The Republicans' division also manifested itself in private correspondence. In a letter from William Dudley Foulke to President Roosevelt, Foulke indicated the Republicans' hesitance to fully embrace their gubernatorial candidate. "There is great distrust in him (Watson)," said Foulke, "especially in his own district, and most of all in my own county of Wayne; it is believed that he has been in close alliance with Cannon to thwart many of your measures."²⁷ Roosevelt fought for conservation efforts and Joseph G. Cannon, Republican Speaker of the House in Congress, held up much of the

²⁴ Indianapolis Sun, 1 April 1908.

²⁵ Stoll, History of the Indiana Democracy, 407.

²⁶ Indianapolis Sun, 4 April 1908.

²⁷ Letter, William Dudley Foulke to President Theodore Roosevelt, 29 July 1908. William Dudley Foulke Papers, Indiana State Library, Manuscript Section, Box L56, "Correspondence 1849-1921," 1 of 3, Folder 4 of 13, "Correspondence 1908."

conservation legislation that Roosevelt wanted. Indiana's Republicans nominated James E. Watson for governor, and he did not portray himself as a solid supporter of conservation. This internal conflict benefited the Democrats.

Because the Republicans could not heal this internal strife before the campaign began, as the Democrats did, voters were more willing to break party lines.²⁸ Although temperance was a major reason for the fracturing of the Republican Party, the Democrats did much more than play off the differences between the parties on the sale and consumption of alcohol. Democrats provided more incentive for voters to switch parties than just advocating for the less strict local option law regarding alcohol and opposing the restrictive county law Hanly, Watson, and the Republican Party championed. By adopting human life and natural resource conservation in their platform, the Indiana Democratic Party made it a much easier transition for "wet" Republican voters who favored progressive reforms to switch their votes for governor.

Democrats could still champion "wet" alcohol policies and claim to be a reform party that could benefit society by co-opting Republican conservation issues. The Republican governors' weak record on conservation aided Marshall and the Democrats. The State Board of Forestry behaved ineffectively because it lacked a practical forester and received little attention from the public. Indiana waterway improvement did not progress under the Republican regimes from 1896–1908. Hanly's administration failed to effectively administer the conservation laws on the books, which hurt Republican credibility on conservation issues. Human life conservation lagged behind common

²⁸ Ibid. 12.

²⁹ *Indiana Campaign Speech*, Thomas R. Marshall, 1 June 1908, Thomas Riley Marshall Papers, Indiana University Archives, <https://www.indiana.edu/~trmarshall/papers/>.
²⁸ Keith S. Montgomery, "Thomas R. Marshall's Victory in the Election of 1908," *Indiana Magazine of History* 53, No. 2. (June 1957): 152.

sense standards as the newspapers detailed drinking water pollution and unsanitary conditions.

The 1908 Campaign

The rhetoric Marshall used during the 1908 campaign emphasized Democratic reform efforts. By constantly praising the Democratic platform and promising to enforce current and future laws dealing with natural resource and human life conservation, Marshall portrayed himself as a man of the people who would use his power to improve the voters' lives.

Marshall took a month's rest in Scottsdale, Arizona, after the state Democratic convention, and returned to Indiana ready to start the campaign by early June.²⁹ At Marshall's first campaign speech, given June 2, 1908, in Richmond, Marshall emphasized the Democratic platform and his goal of effective state law enforcement through efficient management of Indiana's executive departments, making sure only qualified persons held top positions in state government. Lamenting previous practices where a party would not act on its platform, Marshall stated:

I recognize the truthfulness of those who keep close watch upon political affairs, in making the statement that, after all, party platforms in the past have had too little to do with the result of elections. I am to be pardoned if I say that from my personal standpoint, I trust and believe that the democracy of Indiana not only said in convention what it meant, but also meant what it said.³⁰

With this statement, Marshall made it known to the general public that all measures of the Democratic platform would be acted upon after he was elected, and this included the Democratic efforts for conservation.

²⁹ Ibid., 42.

³⁰ Opening Campaign Speech, Thomas R. Marshall, 3 June 1908. Thomas Riley Marshall Papers, Indiana State Library, Manuscript Section, Box L100, "Correspondence & Speeches and Writings," 1 of 6, Folder 12 of 16, "Speeches and Writings 1908," 3.

Marshall specifically and notably advanced the waterways platform in his first campaign speech and presented it and all conservation ideas as originating within the Democratic fold. "Our advocacy of the improvement of our waterways is no new thing. We began most of the things that the Republican Party is now talking about."³¹ With these two sentences, Marshall placed the Indiana Democratic Party in a very key strategic position. Marshall made it widely known to the electorate that waterway conservation, which lacked under the Hanly administration, would receive his full attention. During the 1908 campaign, Marshall never specifically stated which waterways were going to be improved or when, but Marshall made this issue prominent in an attempt to capitalize on Roosevelt's popularity in the state by co-opting the president's inland waterway conservation advocacy. In addition to Marshall's speech, the Indiana Democratic Party printed and distributed booklets of the speech's text to people in attendance at his first speech and at every speech afterward.

The campaign's intensive speech-making portion opened up on August 22. From late August to Election Day, Marshall stated that he made the same speech 169 times at different events all over the state.³² What is significant about Marshall's statement is that his basic speech never changed, except to add some sections about particular issues that came up during the campaign. This means that every section of the state heard his advancement of inland waterway conservation and his championing of the Democratic platform, which also featured pure food and drug laws along with a state mine inspector, both advancing human life conservation.

³¹ Ibid., 5.

³² Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 52.

Democratic unity behind their platform, which included conservation, manifested itself in profound ways during the campaign's last three months. Samuel Ralston and L. Ert Slack, the opponents Marshall beat at the State Democratic Convention, spoke repeatedly for the state ticket and the platform.³³ Marshall always made it a point to champion the platform by saying, "I am the candidate of the Democratic Party and I stand upon its platform."³⁴

Marshall's speeches had a significant impact on the campaign. In Keith S. Montgomery's article, "Thomas R. Marshall's Victory in the Election of 1908," Montgomery demonstrated that Marshall's campaign remarks garnered him votes. Montgomery indicates that voters broke party lines due to Marshall's "effective audience adaptation, arguments from facts and assertions, and a clear and informal style."³⁵ Initially, Marshall's speeches only attracted Democrats waiting to hear his interpretation of the Democratic platform, but soon audiences included "Republicans, Prohibitionists, and independents" in significant numbers.³⁶ This shift's significance is that Marshall's views on prohibition could not possibly attract prohibitionists to his cause. Something else in the platform had to attract them. Conservation offered these voters a chance to vote for a candidate who was very convincing and who stood soundly on his party's platform, which boasted conservation reforms.

Marshall deftly combined conservation issues and effective enforcement of state law through Indiana's executive departments during the last campaign weeks. Very early on and throughout the campaign Marshall stated that law enforcement would be carried

³³ Ibid., 52.

³⁴ Montgomery, "Thomas R. Marshall's Victory in the Election of 1908," 156.

³⁵ Ibid., 163.

³⁶ Ibid., 155.

out in a suitable manner if the executive made his appointments with “competency, integrity, and the good of people” in the forefront of his mind.³⁷ Marshall wanted departments like the State Board of Health and State Board of Forestry to execute the law exactly, making sure that bills passed by the legislature were carried out as written. Qualified individuals had to lead Indiana’s departments in order for the state to run properly and affect actual reform. Without the executive branch carryout the legislature’s laws, Marshall knew significant change would not happen. Marshall combined the executive enforcement of laws and appointments with conservation to show he would be a better administrator than Hanly was and Watson would be.

Marshall stated frequently during the campaign that the “business of the executive is to administer the law.”³⁸ Governor Hanly faced charges from the Democrats that his administration did not enforce the law as it should and Marshall implied that Watson would do the same. By making enforcement of the law part of his campaign, Marshall was able to tie this issue to conservation later in the campaign by highlighting the plight faced by the Indiana State Board of Health and State Board of Forestry.

The lack of attention Hanly gave conservation permeated his governmental management, which perfectly fit with Democratic characterizations of the Hanly administration. Dr. J.N. Hurty, secretary of the State Board of Health, made it public knowledge during the 1908 campaign that the Board of Health needed help to enforce the current health laws—in other words, human conservation laws. Dr. Hurty said, “The

³⁷ Campaign Speech, Thomas Riley Marshall, 22 March, 1908. Thomas Riley Marshall Papers, Indiana State Library, Manuscript Section, Box L100, “Correspondence & Speeches and Writings,” 1 of 6, Folder 12 of 16, “Speeches and Writings 1908,” 16.

³⁸ Opening Campaign Speech, Thomas Riley Marshall, 3 June, 1908. Thomas Riley Marshall Papers, Indiana State Library, Manuscript Section, Box L100, “Correspondence & Speeches and Writings,” 1 of 6, Folder 12 of 16, “Speeches and Writings 1908,” 5.

joints of the health machine are loose. They rattle. There is a loss of energy.”³⁹ Dr. Hurty explained that the funds were not available to efficiently execute the law. By offering to enforce current laws and to seek better legislation to secure pure food and water, Marshall garnered support from voters worried about their families’ health. The State Board of Forestry also lacked effective executive guidance and funding. Established in 1901 and given the charge of maintaining a state forest reserve in 1903, the State Board of Forestry floundered under the Hanly administration. Forests could not be cultivated properly as “no funds were available to give the trees the cultivation needed.” The lack of money was due to administrative mismanagement because “the money needed to save and promote the work of the previous year was made available after the season for work was past.”⁴⁰ Yet again, Marshall’s charges of poor administrative technique corresponded with Governor Hanly’s terrible conservation action.

Governor Hanly’s actions after the Governor Conference in 1908 added legitimacy to Marshall’s portrayal of Hanly’s administration as an ineffective organization. After returning in mid-May 1908, from the Conference of Governors regarding conservation in Washington, D.C., Hanly did not immediately appoint an Indiana Conservation Commission as promised at the gathering. The appointment took seven months to happen and the commission met only once, on November 18, 1908—after the election. This massive time delay signaled that Hanly, a Republican leader, did not fully embrace conservation practices or understand the issue’s political significance. By introducing an Indiana Conservation Commission during the campaign, Hanly could have parried Marshall’s attacks concerning conservation and shown that Hanly and

³⁹ Indianapolis Star, 7 October 1908.

⁴⁰ W.H. Freeman, Fifth Annual Report of the State Board of Forestry, 1905 (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1906), 24.

Indiana Republicans could be trusted to effectively tend to these matters. Instead, Hanly delayed naming the commission, which eventually did discuss plans to conserve natural resources and human health; these were just general platitudes and were too late to counterattack Democratic challenges regarding conservation.⁴¹ The board members resigned shortly after the first meeting—just one and half months before Hanly’s term was to expire because the board did not know if Marshall’s administration wanted to retain its present membership.

The 1906–1908 reports for the State Board of Forestry indicate a general lack of funds, sufficient staff, and direction for the board to properly function. The 1907 report states that limited funds prevented the maintenance of the state forest reserve and, “not all the experiments in progress were taken because of the lack of means to conduct the work.”⁴² In 1908, staffing issues came to the forefront along with financial difficulties. Claiming that, “Good men must be obtained to do the investigating and render the advice (regarding forestry),” the report recommended at least two assistants be hired to help the board secretary carry out his mission.⁴³ These appointments were not made. Hanly’s inaction on these matters provided examples of how Hanly poorly administrated state departments and showed a general malaise toward conservation—both of these weaknesses provided Marshall with ammunition to attack the Republicans, claiming they were ineffective and out of touch with popular issues like conservation.

Examples of the lax enforcement of conservation legislation and the need for improved legislation appeared in the press during the 1908 election. Enforcement of

⁴¹ Indianapolis Star, 9 November 1908.

⁴² W.H. Freeman, Seventh Annual Report of the State Board of Forestry, 1907 (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1907), 85.

⁴³ W.H. Freeman, Eighth Annual Report of the State Board of Forestry, 1908 (Indianapolis, Wm. B. Freeman Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1908), 17.

human conservation laws was so bad under Hanly that at Center Township, School Eleven, in Indianapolis, “Bugs, ants, flies and spiders get into the water. They are skimmed off and the children drink what is left. They are told to pour back what they don’t drink.”⁴⁴ The fact that no state laws governed school sanitation played into the Democratic portrayal of Governor Hanly and the Republicans. Republicans may have had conservation issues in their platform, but they did not carry out the platform pledge once in office. Marshall presented himself and his future administration as solutions to this disgusting problem by strongly advocating for conservation and promising to faithfully execute the law.

By the end of Hanly’s term, articles ran in the newspapers illustrating the need for conservation legislation and improved enforcement. The American Maize Products Company filled Lake Michigan with “filth and refuse,” which contaminated drinking water used by the Indiana cities of Hammond, Whiting, and Robertsdale east of Chicago.⁴⁵ An article in the Indianapolis News noted water used by cities from Lake Michigan became so foul that, “the stench of the water is so bad that people have been forced to quit bathing in it and patrons of barbershops have walked out in disgust after the lather has been put on their faces.”⁴⁶

The poor water conditions during Hanly’s term moved many citizens to try to act on their own to fix the problem and many looked for another political party that could address these pressing problems. In the middle of the 1908 campaign, a group called the Indiana Sanitary and Water Supply Association met to discuss ways “for obtaining and maintaining a supply of pure water for the cities and towns of Indiana and freeing the

⁴⁴ Indianapolis Star, 7 October 1908.

⁴⁵ Indianapolis News, 15 January 1909.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

streams of the State from pollution.”⁴⁷ Clearly, Hanly’s administration did not do enough to address the problem and human health conservation, in the form of pure drinking water, was prevalent in Hoosiers’ minds around the state during the election. Marshall’s advocacy of human health conservation reforms and pledges to faithfully execute the laws gained him support from groups such as the Indiana Sanitary and Water Supply Association.

The Democrats’ game plan—co-opting several Republican issues, such as conservation, while offering a less strict plank on alcohol to gain votes—received recognition. Indianapolis News noted, “They say the defection of the Republican ranks is larger than the Republicans will admit. It shows, they say, that thousands of Republicans are going to vote for Taft and Marshall” and that these defections were enough to elect the Democratic state ticket.⁴⁸

Internal Republican grumblings over campaign conduct illustrated how successful the Democratic tactics were. Influential Republican William Dudley Foulke lamented to Republican Presidential Candidate William Howard Taft, “It looks to me as if the old machine in Indiana has not the slightest comprehension of what the real issues in this campaign are and the fact that they themselves are utterly discredited among the people.”⁴⁹ The confusion in the state machinery caused many people to be “indifferent to Watson for governor.”⁵⁰ Taft was Roosevelt’s choice for a successor to the presidency because Roosevelt believed at that time that Taft would carry on Roosevelt’s policies,

⁴⁷ Indianapolis News, 14 January 1909.

⁴⁸ Indianapolis News, 21 October 1908.

⁴⁹ Letter, William Dudley Foulke to Hon. Wm. H. Taft, September 1908. William Dudley Foulke Papers, Indiana State Library, Manuscript Section, Box L56, “Correspondence 1849–1921,” 1 of 3, Folder 4 of 13, “Correspondence 1908.”

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

including Roosevelt's conservation policies. Democrats constantly offered conservation as their own and the Hanly administration's lack of practical conservation law enforcement gave Democratic claims merit. Those who deeply considered conservation a key issue, would very likely vote for Marshall as he promised to seek new conservation legislation and to enforce the current laws.

The advancement of human conservation directly related to Democratic gains regarding the labor vote. Marshall's advocacy for a governor-appointed mine inspector and the Democratic platform swayed many miners. The Democrats believed the miners were incredibly important to victory as "the vote of the coal miners in Indiana has always been regarded as an important asset of the Republicans."⁵¹ By showing that Democrats cared about miners' health and safety, while the workers believed Republicans were more concerned with helping the mining companies, this would cause "a large per cent of those who do not vote the Republican ticket will vote the Democratic ticket."⁵² A key to the Republican base would be driven away. The Democratic strategy of adopting conservation also caused the Democrats to believe they would get many Indiana Democrats who formerly voted for Roosevelt to come back to the party and vote for Marshall and the presidential candidate, William Jennings Bryan.

Natural resource and human life conservation also melded well with Marshall's concerns about "predatory wealth." During a speech at Indianapolis in October, Marshall remarked, "Do you believe any man or combination of men has the right to obtain legislation that will inure to the few and be to the detriment of the many? Has anyone any such rights, God-given or man bestowed? If you believe they have not you are a

⁵¹ Indianapolis News, 2 November 1908.

⁵² Ibid.

Democrat.”⁵³ Marshall’s speech correlates with the arguments for governmental inland waterway improvement, a significant Democratic platform plank. Part of waterway conservation would be to protect rivers from special legislation allowing them to be privatized for personal monetary gain at the people’s expense.

“Predatory wealth” also came in the form of polluters such as the American Maize Products Company, which fouled the drinking water for those living around Lake Michigan. Marshall advocated conservation because, “We believe men should make money, but we do not believe in the system which enables men to ‘do’ their neighbors.”⁵⁴ In essence, enacting and enforcing conservation legislation and practices protected the average citizen from corporation abuses.

Marshall’s insistence on pure food laws also played into his stance against “predatory wealth.” H.W. Wiley, the chief of the bureau of chemistry in the Agriculture Department, popularized the fight against food manufacturers who wished to use benzoate, saccharine, borax, and nitrous oxides as preservatives, claiming these substances were dangerous to human health.⁵⁵ By advancing human health conservation, Marshall deftly tapped into the perception that he stood up for the average man against companies that federal authorities claimed were spoiling the general food supply. Marshall’s conservation policies offered a firm check against “Predatory wealth.”

Marshall used human life conservation to attack the way the Republicans conducted their administration and implicated Governor Hanly and Republican gubernatorial candidate Watson in improper activities. In relation to a question about Marshall’s views on the state factory inspector, Marshall stated his support of its role in

⁵³ Indianapolis News, 12 October 1908.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Indianapolis News, 15 October 1908.

human conservation and attacked his opponents for interfering with its proper functions.

Marshall said:

The office of State factory inspector is all right so long as he inspects, but when he inspects late in 1907, finds nothing wrong with the factory and then comes again early in 1908 and tries to convince the superintendent of a factory that Mr. Watson should be nominated for Governor and on failing to convince the superintendent, requires a large number of repairs to be made in the factory as was done with the McNown Manufacturing Company in Columbia City, Ind., I am convinced that more politics than business is being played in that office.⁵⁶

Marshall's quote did two things remarkably well. First, Marshall established that both Hanly and Watson were crooked and not properly running the government.

Marshall elaborated on this point by saying that Hanly, at Watson's behest, had a competent inspector, David H. McAbee, fired "in order to make room for one of those whom I denominate as belonging to the predatory office-holding class."⁵⁷ Second, due to Hanly's impropriety, Marshall also supported the theme that Republicans are not really serious about human life conservation, but rather were concerned about politics and the appearance of effort.

In the end, Marshall's constant campaigning, which included conservation, the Democratic unity behind his candidacy and platform, and the state Republicans' disintegration, won Marshall's race for governor. Marshall won the election 348,849 votes to Watson's 334,040.⁵⁸ Although the margin was only 14,809, Marshall garnered more votes than Taft did for his winning presidential bid and the Democrats elected their lieutenant gubernatorial candidate, superintendent of public instruction candidate, 11 of

⁵⁶ *Indianapolis News*, 19 October 1908.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Mosher, "Tom Marshall's Term as Governor," 53.

13 congressmen, 60 of 100 Democratic Indiana House members, and the party was only down in the state Senate 27 to 23.⁵⁹

Clearly, Marshall had a winning plan, and it consisted of his speaking ability and the party platform's popularity. It can be argued that the Democrats won in Indiana due to their less stringent alcohol platform that let smaller areas decide prohibition issues and enable several parts of a county to serve alcohol. The alcohol platform, however, was not the only reason—election statistics proved that brewery interests against prohibition could not have won the election in 1908; rather, it was the thousands of independent and Republican voters who were personally attracted to Marshall and his sound arguments.⁶⁰ On the day before the election, the Indianapolis News attributed the likely Democratic victory to “the character of its candidates and platforms,” and argued that for this reason the Democrats should be returned to power.⁶¹ The adoption of conservation as a campaign issue wooed voters who were reform-minded and who were weary of a Republican state government administration that Marshall argued did not adequately enforce the law. What made Marshall's administration so interesting is that he acted on his campaign promises. Marshall stayed loyal to the Indiana Democratic Party platform and ushered in a period that expanded conservation legislation and executive enforcement, and led to effective state government regarding conservation.

⁵⁹ Stoll, History of the Indiana Democracy, 407–408.

⁶⁰ Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall, 55.

⁶¹ Indianapolis News, 2 November 1908.

Chapter Two:

Thomas Marshall's Term as Governor

With his victory in the 1908 election, Thomas Riley Marshall became the first Democratic governor since 1896. His victory rested on several factors—among them, his conservation advancements relating to natural resources and human life. True to his campaign promises, Marshall sought new conservation legislation and effectively administered the law so that state government entered an eight-year era of sound conservation policy. As was customary in the early 1900s, the Indiana General Assembly opened its 1909 session with the Governor's remarks to a joint session of the legislature. On this special occasion, Thomas Riley Marshall's remarks carried more weight due to his views of executive power.

Address to the 1909 Indiana General Assembly

In Marshall's opening speech for the 1908 gubernatorial campaign, his words indicated his hesitancy to interfere with the legislature in enacting laws. "In accordance with the constitution of this state, the governor is only its chief executive and has no right to coerce or compel the legislative or judicial branches to do anything which they may not desire to do."¹ Marshall's strict interpretation of Indiana's constitution meant that, in general, he would leave the lawmaking up to the lawmakers. This approach lent credit to Marshall's words when on January 11, 1909, he gave his first address to the legislature's opening session. Those in attendance knew that his remarks on lawmaking had to be important for Marshall to suggest them at all.

¹ Opening Campaign Speech, Thomas Riley Marshall, 3 June 1908. Thomas Riley Marshall Papers, Indiana State Library, Manuscript Section, Box L100, "Correspondence & Speeches and Writings," Box 1 of 6, Folder 12 of 16, "Speeches and Writings 1908," 1.

Indiana Marshall told the assembled legislators; “While the constitution provides that from time to time the governor shall transmit to the legislature any suggestion which he may deem appropriate, it is my desire only to make suggestions to you upon those questions with which you may not be as conversant as myself.”² Marshall stressed two important topics concerning conservation, public health, and forestry. Marshall advocated a greater role for the State Board of Health arguing that jurisdiction over “the pollution of streams, the sources of water supply, ventilation, lighting and plumbing of tenement houses, and general discretion as to health requirements,” is needed to conserve human life and to have the State Board of Health serve a productive role in state government.³ The governor proclaimed competency to be a considerable factor in board appointments. Marshall’s emphasis on human conservation in his first speech to the General Assembly indicated how much he wanted legislation passed regarding this issue because Marshall only saw fit to make suggestions that he deemed most important to the legislative body.

Natural resource conservation also garnered attention from Marshall during his speech. Marshall’s suggestions regarding forestry illustrated his confidence in Indiana’s executive branch and its ability to effectively and efficiently enforce the law. This portion of the speech directly related to calls from the State Board of Forestry for more staff to carry out its duties, which it requested in its 1908 report.⁴ Marshall emphasized the need for forestry education to Indiana farmers. “The conservation of timber in

² Speech to the 1909 General Assembly, Thomas Riley Marshall. Thomas Riley Marshall Papers, Indiana State Library, Manuscript Section, Box L100, “Correspondence & Speeches and Writings,” Box 1 of 6, Folder 13 of 16, “Speeches and Writings 1908?-1909,” 1.

³ Journal of the Indiana Senate, 1909 (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1909), 104.

⁴ W.H. Freeman, Eighth Annual Report of the State Board of Forestry, 1908 (Indianapolis, Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1908), 17.

Indiana,” said Marshall, “which will always remain an agricultural State, is to be obtained by lectures delivered to the farmers in the various counties of the State by educated men who know the soil conditions and the grade of timber which will grow in the soil.”⁵

To effectively execute the State Board of Forestry’s objective—to educate the populace of conservation’s importance—Marshall advocated “the appointment of a State Forester and an assistant, whose business it shall be to deliver popular lectures to the people of the State upon this important question.”⁶ Marshall also advanced the plan for the state to sell the forest reserve in Clark County because it was too far away from farmers to make an effective example of forestry.⁷ Marshall quickly dropped his desire to sell this land because newspapers negatively reacted to the proposal and the new state forester properly used the land.

General approval for Governor Marshall’s plans for conservation came from the Indianapolis Star and the Indianapolis News. Indianapolis Star claimed that Marshall’s conservation plans would meet with much public approval. Indianapolis Star wrote, “the broadening of the powers of the State Board of Health in order to give it jurisdiction over the sources of water supply, authority to prevent the pollutions of streams, control of the ventilations, lighting and plumbing of tenement houses” made great practical sense because, “it would be well if the officers whose business it is to investigate unhealthful conditions should have the power to regulate them.”⁸ Indianapolis News also praised Marshall’s ideas about the State Board of Health, stating that Marshall’s recommendations were wise. Indianapolis News supported extending the State Board of

⁵ Journal of the Indiana Senate, 1909, 4.

⁶ Ibid., 104.

⁷ Ibid., 106.

⁸ Indianapolis Star, 12 January 1909.

Health's function because that department would do a much better job carrying out the laws.⁹ Marshall's ideas on this subject thus played to the strengths that he championed during the campaign. The executive would be able to effectively enforce the law and human life conservation would be advanced.

Marshall's plans for the State Board of Forestry met with approval and questions. The idea to name a practical state forester and an assistant who would, "visit the various counties, study the situation and deliver lectures to the farmers," would prove effective.¹⁰ Selling the state forest reserve, however, met with hostility. Indianapolis News suggested that Marshall should, "reconsider his recommendation of the sale of the Clark county reservation," because the reserve serves as an object lesson in forestry.¹¹ This negative reaction to selling the reserve forced Marshall to back off his earlier plan to maintain his reputation as a solid conservation advocate.

Marshall's plans for the State Board of Health also received the Indiana Sanitary and Water Supply Association's support. At a meeting on January 13, 1909, the association expressed optimism that the state's water quality would improve due to Marshall's leadership and the great interest Marshall showed in the subject.¹² J.N. Hurty, the secretary of the State Board of Health, spoke at the meeting and indicated his confidence in raising the water purity standards thanks to the new administration. Stating that progress in water quality was slow, Hurty argued "the people were equal to the emergency and the time was not far distant when the streams of the State, instead of being bearers of pollution to the greater or less degree, will be carrying health and

⁹ Indianapolis News, 12 January 1909.

¹⁰ Indianapolis Star, 12 January 1909.

¹¹ Indianapolis News, 12 January 1909.

¹² Indianapolis News, 14 January 1909.

refreshment throughout the state.”¹³ Hurty’s remarks were vastly different from the characterization of conditions under the Hanly administration. Hurty’s confidence that things would change for the better stemmed from Marshall’s leadership on the issue.

1909 Legislation

The Indiana General Assembly acted on many conservation issues Marshall campaigned for—such as pure food enforcement, expanding the State Board of Health’s jurisdiction, expanding the State Board of Forestry, and improving waterways. During the 1908 campaign, the Democratic platform and Marshall pushed for the navigational improvement of inland waterways, an issue Theodore Roosevelt popularized. The first business matter that the Indiana General Assembly undertook during the 1909 session was a concurrent resolution, adopted January 12, which instructed the Indiana representatives in Congress to support appropriations to improve the Ohio River with locks to make it more navigable.¹⁴

Human health conservation also received much attention from Marshall and the legislature during the 1909 session. Senate Bill 75 sought to improve sanitary conditions in cities through drainage improvements. Democratic State Senator Stephen A. Powers introduced Senate Bill 75 in early January and it provided, “for the erection or change to waterways, natural or artificial designed to receive the drainage of land, both within and without the limits of a city.”¹⁵ Marshall signed this legislation because it provided for improved and more efficient drainage, moving waste away from the cities where it could cause disease.

¹³ Indianapolis News, 14 January 1909.

¹⁴ Journal of the Indiana Senate, 1909, 109.

¹⁵ Journal of the Indiana Senate, 1909, Appendix 41.

Acting on Marshall's advice to improve water purity, the Indiana General Assembly passed House Bill 44. The White River's pollution that ran downstream from Indianapolis to Martinsville convinced Martinsville Representative McGinnis that something had to be done because the water became "unfit for domestic use."¹⁶ Approved February 26, 1909, House Bill 44 provided protection for domestic water sources against pollution and impurities.¹⁷ The State Board of Health, as Marshall recommended, gained control of water purity enforcement and could levy fines for a first time offense of deliberate pollution with a \$500 penalty and, if violations continued, fines rose to \$1,000 and could lead to six months in prison for a third offense.¹⁸ House Bill 44 gave Marshall a weapon to use against polluters, monetary fines. Fines discouraged people and businesses from polluting in order to avoid losing money and at the same time, improved water quality for the general population.

House Bill 308 allowed the State Board of Health to ensure that Indiana consumers were protected from improperly prepared food that could cause infection and contamination. House Bill 308 provided that sanitation regulations would apply to both the factories that processed food and the storage warehouses where the food was kept in tins, boxes, or barrels.¹⁹ The food preparation location had to be "properly lighted, drained, plumbed and ventilated" to maintain the "purity and wholesomeness of the food therein produced."²⁰ Violations could result in fines up to \$200 and 30 to 90 days in jail.²¹ This sanitary food law put Indiana ahead of other states in the union and the law

¹⁶ Indianapolis Star, 14 January 1909.

¹⁷ Laws of the State of Indiana, 1909 (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1909), 60.

¹⁸ Laws of the State of Indiana, 1909, 67.

¹⁹ Indianapolis Star, 25 March 1909.

²⁰ Laws of the State of Indiana 1909, 393.

²¹ Ibid., 397.

had wide-ranging approval. Indianapolis Star indicated that other states would follow Indiana's example while wholesale and retail food distributors and trade journals "unqualifiedly endorsed it."²² The editor of American Grocer emphatically stated there was not a thing in the law that did not meet his approval.²³

Women's groups in particular strongly supported Indiana's new food purity law. Officials from the State Board of Health met with women's groups and established working relationships that the state food and drug commissioner, H.E. Barnard, viewed as helpful in carrying out the new law to make sure food was processed and handled in a sanitary fashion.²⁴ A women's group in Terre Haute created a "white list" of clean businesses that upheld the law and offered clean food.²⁵ Women's groups sustained their drive for sanitary conditions as they continued to ensure that food manufacturers and distributors in Indiana operated under Indiana pure food laws.²⁶

True to his pledges in the 1908 campaign, Marshall vigorously enforced the new pure food law for which he also had campaigned. The Indianapolis News noted "the cry of 'no quarter' has been sounded in the food and drug department of the State Board of Health in the war against adulterated and unclean food."²⁷ If a business before Marshall's term did not follow the law due to a lack of knowledge about the legislation, it often could get away with violations. Now, with Marshall's vow to enforce the state laws, the State Board of Health would not be as forgiving. H.E. Barnard, chief of the

²² Indianapolis Star, 25 March 1909.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Indianapolis Star, 24 March 1909.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Indianapolis News, 22 January 1910.

²⁷ Indianapolis News, 21 May 1909.

food and drug department, stated, "We are no longer considering ignorance of the law a valid reaction why this department should show leniency to the law violators."²⁸

Enforcement under Marshall was strict; there were almost 1,000 convictions under the Indiana pure food law by January 1910.²⁹ This was a drastic change from the time before the Marshall administration. For example, an inspection by the State Board of Health found a health code violation at the Smith Brothers' slaughterhouse in Gosport, Indiana, on December 31, 1907. State Inspector John Owens found the premises unsanitary, but did not prosecute the owners for a violation because Governor Hanly did not emphasize health-code enforcement.³⁰ Under Marshall, Owens inspected Smith Brothers again on March 16, 1909, and very different events transpired. Owens found the slaughterhouse "dilapidated and in a state of decay; the floor and sidewalls were soaked with decaying blood and other animal matter, efficient fly screens were not provided." Among other things, Owens told the firm to clean up or be charged. On March 22, 1909, Owens found the exact same conditions without any improvements and brought charges against the firm.³¹ The defendants plead guilty, signifying that they knew they had been violating the law. But, now that Marshall had control of Indiana's executive branch, enforcement of state law helped clean up unsanitary operations and made the laws a deterrent to violators.³²

During Marshall's term, tenement and apartment housing regulations conserved human life under local health boards' direction. To eliminate buildings for the poor that

²⁸ Indianapolis News, 21 May 1909.

²⁹ Indianapolis News, 22 January 1910.

³⁰ Letter, John Owens to H.E. Barnard, 21 April 1909. Papers of Thomas Riley Marshall, Indiana State Archives, Commission on Public Records, Box 82, Folder 11, "Health, State Board of."

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Letter, H.E. Barnard to Thomas R. Marshall, 21 April 1909. Papers of Thomas Riley Marshall, Indiana State Archives, Commission on Public Records. Box 82, Folder 11, "Health, State Board of."

contributed to their terrible state in life with horrid sanitation and little ventilation, House Bill 3 regulated construction and maintenance of tenement and apartment housing. To help prevent disease, ventilation standards required certain numbers of windows in relation to the dwelling's size, water-closets had to have proper plumbing to remove waste, and sinks had to be in each individual domicile.³³ Evansville Press hailed the measure for its positive "moral effect" and noted that the bill "will be the first time in any western state, that the state has assumed the right to regulate housing conditions as a matter of public health and safety."³⁴ Albion Fellows Bacon, a champion for housing reform, viewed the legislation as a solid beginning for tenement reform and stated, "it is not intended to be all that would be desired to secure good housing but only the first step to prevent bad housing."³⁵ Yet again, Marshall's insistence for human life conservation had practical results that improved Hoosiers' lives. Signing the bill endeared Marshall and his party to the populace that benefited from his leadership.

Another result of the 1909 legislative session was forestry's advancement in Indiana. Indiana's first attempt at forestry legislation did not function well. To encourage reforestation, the 1899 Indiana General Assembly passed House Bill 436, which provided tax relief for woodlots.³⁶ Problems occurred because strict woodlot classification regulations set by the state allowed virtually no one to take advantage of the law because the lots had to have certain percentage of tree cover. In 1901, the Indiana General Assembly passed more coherent legislation because House Bill 192 established a

³³ Laws of the State of Indiana, 1909, 114.

³⁴ Robert G. Barrow, Albion Fellows Bacon: Indiana's Municipal Housekeeper (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2000), 58.

³⁵ Ibid., 58.

³⁶ William C. Branble, ed., Forestry and Conservation in Indiana (West Lafayette: Purdue University Department of Forestry and Conservation, 1965), 8.

five-man State Board of Forestry intended to reforest Indiana's almost decimated landscape.³⁷ The 1903 session featured legislation creating the first state forest reserve in Clark County. The 1901 and 1903 legislation established an official state apparatus for forestry in Indiana.³⁸ The board and the reservation, however, did not produce significant forestry findings and did not effectively distribute their findings to the public. Marshall's call for a State Forester changed this.

The need for a strong head for the State Board of Forestry became evident. As Marshall stated in his 1909 address to the Indiana General Assembly, he appointed a practical forester to the State Board of Forestry on July 5, 1909.³⁹ Charles C. Deam, a botanist, became the first Indiana state forester and this appointment gave Marshall a great sense of personal pride.⁴⁰ With Deam's appointment, a previously lethargic state department became more effective in executing its functions in educating Hoosiers about forestry's positive aspects.

Starting in 1909, Deam expanded the Board of Forestry Library one hundred percent and started statewide conservation education by mailing press bulletins once a month to newspapers.⁴¹ This tactic, planting stories advancing conservation and forestry issues, met with widespread success. On August 1, 1909, the Indianapolis Star ran one of the State Board of Forestry's articles. With five large pictures demonstrating conservation's positive effects, the article stated, "Forests prevent droughts and disastrous floods by attracting moisture and holding the excess rainfall in the porous soil beneath the

³⁷ Branble, Forestry and Conservation in Indiana, 9.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Chas. C. Deam, Ninth Annual Report of the State Board of Forestry, 1909 (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1910), 19.

⁴⁰ Letter, E.B. Williamson to Samuel M. Ralston, 14 January 1913. Samuel M. Ralston Collection, Indiana State Archives, Commission on Public Records, Box 125, Folder 3, "Forestry, State Bd. of (Reappointments)."

⁴¹ Deam, Ninth Annual Report of the State Board of Forestry, 1909, 15.

trees.”⁴² The article also praised state authorities because they “have been taken to develop sentiment favorable to the perpetuation of our remaining forests” while at the same time praising the practical forestry experiments undertaken at the Clark County forest reserve.⁴³ The articles the State Board of Forestry disseminated continued to boost conservation’s popularity, emphasized its practical applications, and gave credit to state officials such as Marshall for championing the cause.

Under Marshall and Deam, the dissemination of forestry and conservation information was secured by instituting a program that mailed the yearly State Board of Forestry reports to farmers, business and professional men, teachers, students, and librarians.⁴⁴ During 1910, the first year of the program, the State Board of Forestry sent a total of 1,036 copies of forestry reports to people around the state. Some of the reports mailed were from previous years, but the vast majority—835 copies—were the most recent issue.⁴⁵ The number of reports sent to people in response to written requests increased every year of the Marshall administration. Requests for 1,036 copies of the Annual Report were mailed in 1910, 1,532 copies in 1911, and a staggering 6,154 copies in 1912. The distribution growth, especially in 1912, came from schools, as the report said, “it is gratifying to find that teachers throughout the State are supplying their pupils with this report and expect to make forestry a special subject of study in the coming year.”⁴⁶ The availability of the State Board of Forestry’s reports meant that the board’s important work reached the entire state, which made its findings relating to conservation

⁴² Indianapolis Star, 1 August 1909.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Chas. C. Deam, Tenth Annual Report of the State Board of Forestry, 1910 (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1911), 54.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 54-55.

⁴⁶ Chas. C. Deam, Twelfth Annual Report of the State Board of Forestry, 1912 (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1913), 69.

more applicable and they reached key groups that could use the information, such as farmers, students, and teachers.

Deam's efforts to spread forestry in Indiana involved his personal travel of the state. Deam hit Indiana's back roads, talking to farmers face-to-face about forestry's benefits to them as woodlands retained soil moisture and prevent soil erosion. The State Forester's traveling botany laboratory (a large truck fitted with storage spaces and instruments) allowed him to conduct experiments across the state as he traveled.⁴⁷

Yet another effort to disperse information about the State Board of Forestry's work was initiating an essay contest for school children. In 1910, the State Board of Forestry enlisted teachers, superintendents, and principals to spread the information about forestry's importance by offering a prize up to \$40 for the best essays concerning "Forestry in Indiana."⁴⁸ The State Board of Forestry found the contest increased the level of investigation in forestry and found the program so successful that it continued the contest the following year.⁴⁹ The essay contest's success the following year, 1911, increased the visibility of the State Board of Forestry's work because the Indianapolis Star ran an article on the essay contest and printed the winning essays in the paper.⁵⁰ All the attention that forestry generated benefited Marshall and the Democrats. Being associated with a cause intended to improve the lives of Hoosiers provided Marshall and fellow Democrats with political support.

The one aspect of the Democratic platform and Marshall's campaign speeches that did not pass during the 1909 General Assembly was the governor's ability to appoint

⁴⁷ Bramble, Forestry and Conservation in Indiana, 11.

⁴⁸ Deam, Tenth Annual Report of the State Board of Forestry, 1910, 70.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁵⁰ Indianapolis Star, 4 June 1911.

a state mine inspector. This would allow the governor the power to remove the inspector if his or her performance did not meet expectations. The legislature failed to act in this regard. Letters from miners to the governor's office reflect a "considerable dissatisfaction" with the state mine inspectors' work.⁵¹ Marshall blamed the lack of action in this area on the Republican Senate, stating that he asked for the power to remove poor inspectors who threatened the miners' safety but "so far they have not given me the authority."⁵² By demonstrating his willingness to reform the state mine inspection system, Marshall placed himself as human life conservation's champion fighting against poor Indiana laws. This characterization meant Democrats could use human life conservation, as a political issue, against the Republicans.

1910 Campaign

The strategy of the Democratic Party to win the 1910 election maintained similarities to the 1908 campaign. Adopting conservation issues to the Democratic Party platform would draw more progressive Republicans to their side. In 1908, the Indiana Republican Party still contained serious fractures. Editorials warned William Howard Taft, the Republican president, to bring about party unity by not using the "party lash to adopt methods and measures which their consciences repudiate. The man who does this is not a true leader and if he continue in this fatal course, the most disastrous consequences will fall upon the country, upon the party and himself."⁵³ In a letter to Theodore Roosevelt, William Dudley Foulke, the former Indiana State Senator and G.O.P leader in Wayne County, confirmed such a division in the Indiana Republican

⁵¹ Charles M. Thomas, Thomas Riley Marshall: Hoosier Statesman (Oxford, OH: The Mississippi Valley Press, 1939), 102.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 102.

⁵³ Richmond Evening Item, 8 March 1910.

ranks by disparaging J. Frank Hanly, the former governor. "I hear," wrote Foulke, "that J. Frank Hanly, our late Republican governor, a scoundrel, great temperance leader, Chautauqua lecturer, etc., has been collecting affidavits to prove that Beveridge (Albert J., Indiana Republican Senator) drinks too much."⁵⁴ Foulke's letter reveals the great amount of vitriol that the progressive Republicans still had toward Hanly. Hanly's actions in collecting affidavits against Beveridge show Hanly's dislike for the more progressive wing of the party.

Not up for re-election during the 1910 campaign, Marshall still had a strong influence on the formation of the 1910 Democratic platform and Marshall stated the Democratic platform should not, "exhaust itself with unnecessary and unpopular issues," because "the strength of a party platform is its weakest plank."⁵⁵ Marshall's adoption of conservation conformed to his axiom concerning platforms because it served as a strong plank to the Democratic Party, which 1908 proved was a valuable issue to advance.

Conservation as a significant campaign issue maintained its potency. Toward the end of the 1910 campaign, the Indiana branch of the National Conservation Association held a dinner at the Claypool hotel in Indianapolis honoring Gifford Pinchot, Roosevelt's forester. Pinchot's speech traced conservation's popularity as an issue. "So that the work of conservation, which at first was very much objected to, because people said they didn't know what it meant, even as applied to natural resources, is now spreading out, and will continue to spread."⁵⁶ Pinchot's speech emphasized how much popularity conservation gained from the early days of Roosevelt's administration to 1910, and how the public

⁵⁴ Letter, William Dudley Foulke to Theodore Roosevelt, 13 September 1910. William Dudley Foulke Papers, Indiana State Library, Manuscript Section, Box L56, "Correspondence 1849-1921," Box 1 of 3, Folder 6 of 13, "Correspondence 1910-1913."

⁵⁵ Indianapolis Star, 23 January 1910.

⁵⁶ Indianapolis Star, 30 October 1910.

support for conservation continued to grow. The 1908 campaign had demonstrated conservation's rise as an important issue in Indiana. Conservation remained a significant plank in Indiana's 1910 Democratic platform.

The Ballinger-Pinchot Affair contributed to conservation's importance for the 1910 campaign. Secretary of the Interior Richard Ballinger, under Republican President Taft, sought to remove water power sites and coal fields from the public domain and give them to private corporations.⁵⁷ Gifford Pinchot and the National Conservation Association fought against Ballinger's efforts and claimed that fraud penetrated the land transfer. An article in the Indianapolis Star complained about the Republican Congress "scuttling the great conservation policies of Theodore Roosevelt" by allowing the exploitation of public resources for private enrichment.⁵⁸

Accordingly, the 1910 Democratic platform featured several conservation issues. The Democratic platform "favors the conservation of our natural resources and the improvement of interior waterways."⁵⁹ Referring to the Ballinger-Pinchot Affair, the Indiana Democratic Platform favored withdrawing undeveloped timber, oil, coal, and water power sites from private ownership in Indiana because "the Republican course of favoritism and the countenancing of fraud in relation to these matters have become a national scandal. The remnants of our resources should be preserved in the government for the benefit of the people."⁶⁰ The Indiana Democratic state platform forcefully took the conservation issue from the Republicans in this passage because Republican efforts were portrayed as detrimental to conservation goals. The Democratic position appeared

⁵⁷ Indianapolis Star, 29 April 1910.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Stoll, History of the Indiana Democracy, 414

⁶⁰ Indianapolis Star, 29 April 1910.

as the true advocacy for conservation because Republicans very publicly were dismantling successful and popular conservation achievements President Roosevelt obtained.

In addition to natural resource conservation, the Democratic platform advanced human life conservation, favoring “laws dealing with the sanitary condition of workshops.”⁶¹ The Democratic platform also pushed for “a more rigid enforcement of the factory inspection laws” and a law that would provide for a governor-appointed state mine inspector.⁶² A mine inspector was important because the platform stated that the appointment would be under the “recommendation of the United Mine Workers’ Association,” which would give labor a reason to vote for Democrats.⁶³ By featuring conservation issues, the Democrats hoped to hold onto an issue that resonated with the public. Indianapolis Star gave the Democratic platform approbation, stating, “As a whole the platform does its authors great credit.”⁶⁴ Governor Marshall lent considerable personal appeal to the conservation issues that met with general approval.

Marshall echoed the Democratic platform with his speech to the Democratic state convention on April 27, 1910, as natural resource and human life conservation received significant attention. Regarding human life, Marshall said, “more stringent regulation of the mines of this State should be required by law, using every human endeavor and mechanical device for the preservation of life.”⁶⁵ The push for mine safety had paid off in 1908 because labor heavily voted for Democrats and Marshall’s speech indicates that

⁶¹ Stoll, History of the Indiana Democracy, 414.

⁶² Indianapolis Star, 29 April 1910.

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Address to the 1910 Democratic State Convention, Thomas Riley Marshall, 27 April 1910. Thomas Riley Marshall Papers, Indiana State Library, Manuscript Section, Box L100, “Correspondence & Speeches and Writings,” Box 1 of 6. Folder 14 of 16, “Speeches and writings 1910,” 19.

the Democrats would continue to push for human life conservation. Marshall also called for the State Board of Health to be allotted more funds to carry out its duties. Marshall said, “the Legislature should give additional appropriations to the State Board of Health to enlarge its usefulness by putting in force those laws of hygiene which must inevitably result in the lengthening and strengthening of human life.”⁶⁶

The Democratic stance on conservation in both platform and speeches found popular support. Judge David N. Taylor, a former circuit court judge in Terre Haute, wrote an editorial proclaiming “I am and always have been a democrat” and arguing that the need for conservation was great because vandals had to be prevented from “getting every dollar that can be gotten out of our natural resources, even though in doing so they render the land a veritable desert.”⁶⁷ Once again, the Democratic call for special privileges for none and Marshall’s stance against “predatory wealth” found a home in the fight for conservation.

A letter to the editor from New Albany resident Emery B. Sellers explained the need for inland waterway conservation. Sellers explained, “I have an impression that running water is not subject to private ownership and that the state should control the use of it and the sale of electricity.”⁶⁸ The same disdain for “predatory wealth,” featured in Judge Taylor’s editorial, manifested itself in Sellers’ letter. “You can understand that those having money will naturally desire a monopoly of this business. When they have they will control the sale of power which will furnish light, heat and motive power, without which the human race cannot exist, and will sell, of course, at their own price.”⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Ibid., 20.

⁶⁷ Indianapolis Sun, 1 September 1910.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

Yet again, conservation represented a stance against a moneyed minority's abuses against average citizens. The Democratic platform and Marshall's speeches and actions in office gave the people evidence that the Democrats and Marshall would stand up for them, a powerful reason for anyone to vote for Democratic candidates. The force of Judge Taylor's and Mr. Sellers' editorials was so impressive that the Indianapolis Star ran the same editorials ten days later.⁷⁰

Though no evidence of coordination exists between the State Board of Forestry and the Democratic campaign, the articles the State Board of Forestry sent to newspapers assisted with the Democratic campaign because they kept this issue in the forefront of people's minds and demonstrated the good that the Marshall administration—and, thus, Democrats—had done during the first years of his holding office. An article by Stanley Coulter, dean of the Purdue University School of Science and an original member of the State Board of Forestry when it was established in 1901, appeared in the September 5, 1910, Indianapolis Sun, and continued these efforts to praise Marshall's conservation record. The article shows how decimated Indiana became due to settlement, noting that the northern parts of the state had been "swept clean of their yellow poplar, white oak, black walnut, and cherry."⁷¹ Coulter demonstrated the ways the State Board of Forestry and its leadership met this challenge with sound action through education and experimental work. Coulter gives praise to Marshall for the "educational propaganda" for forestry and conservation that entered Indiana's schools and the increased cooperation

⁷⁰ Indianapolis Star, 11 September 1910.

⁷¹ Indianapolis Sun, 5 September 1910.

between the State Board of Forestry and individual land owners designed to determine proper and effective reforestation techniques at the Clark County forest reserve.⁷²

As demonstrated before, the educational efforts of the State Board of Forestry significantly increased during the Marshall administration, as did the work of practical forestry experiments. Charles C. Deam, the practical forester Marshall appointed to head the State Board of Forestry, started to meticulously record the way each and every tree in Indiana's Clark County Forest Reserve received cultivation, along with costs and techniques used to ensure better growth for trees in the spacing of their planting.⁷³ Since the Clark County property was Indiana's only reserve, Deam and his staff devoted a significant amount of time to working on the land, dividing it into forty-one separate tracts to conduct forty-one separate experiments on the trees.⁷⁴ In his article, Coulter praised these efforts as important to conservation and illustrated Marshall's administrative philosophy, which demanded quality and meaningful work from his departments to ensure that state laws were properly enforced. For this reason, conservation benefited from Marshall's administration and the conservation issue's popularity helped Marshall and the Democrats politically.

Indianapolis News praised the State Board of Forestry and Marshall's selection of its members and asked the board to do more. "Farsighted and public-spirited men are of the opinion that there is no movement before the people of Indiana at the present time more deserving of general and liberal co-operation and support than the forestry movement."⁷⁵ Indianapolis News, like Marshall and the Conference of Governors of

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Deam, Tenth Annual Report of the State Board of Forestry, 1910, 15.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Indianapolis News, 8 October 1910.

1908, tied natural resource conservation to “sanitary and hygienic conditions in maintaining the water supply.”⁷⁶ Marshall’s sound appointment of Charles Deam as State Forester, his public speeches supporting forestry, and the Indiana Democratic platform’s emphasis of forestry, gave Marshall ample evidence that he was on the “right” side of an important issue, which helps during campaigns.

Marshall also became involved with a new conservation group during the last days of the 1910 campaign. The first meeting of the Indiana branch of the National Conservation Association occurred in Indianapolis on October 29, 1910. Founded by Gifford Pinchot, Roosevelt’s chief forester, the National Conservation Association championed Roosevelt’s conservation policies and denounced Taft’s actions to dismantle them.⁷⁷ The organization’s goals included water purification, sewage regulations so as not to impair human health, soil productivity improvements, and forest conservation.⁷⁸ An organization with such high-profile membership, which supported many policies that Marshall advanced, could be seen as a challenge to Marshall’s leadership regarding conservation. Marshall, however, diffused this situation by joining the association.

Marshall secured himself a membership on the board of directors for the Indiana branch of the National Conservation Association alongside Charles Warren Fairbanks, the former Vice-President of the United States, J.N. Hurty, Secretary of the State Board of Health, and the presidents of Wabash, Purdue, and Indiana Universities.⁷⁹ By acquiring such a prominent position in the Indiana branch of the National Conservation Association, Marshall secured his place as one of conservation’s “leaders in the

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ Hays, Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency, 168.

⁷⁸ Indianapolis Star, 6 November 1910.

⁷⁹ Indianapolis Star, 13 November 1910.

movement.”⁸⁰ Marshall’s leadership in the new association allowed him to keep his name at the forefront of conservation and tied the highest state-level Democrat in Indiana with the movement, something the Democrats could point to in elections to come.

Marshall shaped the Indiana branch of the National Conservation Association to his views and even incorporated his wording and phrasing about conservation issues into its platform. The association platform promised to seek new legislation to better develop and protect natural resources and stated, “We recognize that our greatest natural resource is the health of our citizens,” comments remarkably similar to what Marshall said during the 1908 and 1910 campaigns.⁸¹

Democratic strategy returned massive electoral dividends. The Indiana Democratic Party used Marshall’s popularity to help the party win other important governmental offices. The Democratic candidate for Secretary of State won with 299,935 votes. Democrats dominated Indiana’s Congressional delegation—12 of Indiana’s 13 House members were Democrats. The election also returned a Democratic state legislature—the Indiana Senate consisted of thirty Democrats and twenty Republicans, and the House featured sixty Democrats and forty Republicans. The 1910 midterm results showed an electorate that rewarded Democratic candidates.

The push for conservation legislation did not cease after the 1910 election. Democrats found that attaching themselves to a progressive movement like conservation allowed them to maintain popularity and exact positive reforms for Hoosiers. As a result, the 1911 Indiana General Assembly offered many bills designed to push forward conservation.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ibid.

1911 Legislation

Marshall continued his fight for more effective conservation legislation in his 1911 address to the Indiana General Assembly. To secure an even more efficient enforcement of current conservation laws regarding human health, Marshall called for the consolidation of the state factory inspector with the state labor commissioners into an inspection department staffed by persons who had completed competitive examinations to ensure that only qualified candidates carried out the law.⁸² Marshall qualified employees to assist him in enforcing the law.

“The sanitary condition of work shops” still concerned Marshall, who claimed “Nothing is more important to the people of Indiana than the preservation of their life and health.”⁸³ Marshall intertwined the terms preservation and conservation when referring to human health conservation. Marshall’s speech at the 1911 Indiana Conservation Congress featured these words used interchangeably in the same context. In order to achieve human health conservation, Marshall asked for more money for the State Board of Health to ensure sanitary conditions would be enforced. Marshall’s constant insistence on human life conservation, first articulated during the 1908 campaign, still found itself as one of Marshall’s chief concerns as it remained popular with the people as a whole and would help future Democrats avoid charges similar to those Marshall levied at Governor Hanly—namely that Hanly did not care about average people and he did not do his job.

Inland waterway conservation also remained a prominent topic for Marshall. In his speech at the beginning of the Indiana General Assembly in 1911, Marshall strongly asserted Indiana’s right to reserve the waterways for people. In order to keep waterways

⁸² Indianapolis Star, 6 January 1911.

⁸³ Ibid.

in the public domain, Marshall stressed that waterways must not be allowed to fall in private interests' hands. Electrical generation plants built on the state's rivers by private companies bothered many conservationists who believed that waterways should be controlled by the government for the public's benefit.⁸⁴ Claiming that promoters were using an old state law to monopolize the state's water power, Marshall said, 'I recommend the repeal of every law which permits the condemnation of land by private persons or corporations for the erection of a dam across any of our streams. These streams should be preserved to the people, that the state may lease the water power rights and regulate and limit the prices to be charged consumers.'⁸⁵ Marshall's statement also refers to the Ballinger-Pinchot Affair. As in the 1908 campaign, Marshall combined conservation with the people's protection from "predatory wealth." In this instance, waterway conservation needed to be done to guarantee that the people at large would not fall victim to individuals or companies looking to use natural resources for private gain. Only waterway regulations would protect the people from arbitrary and high prices from "predatory wealth".

Advancing pure food laws continued during the second legislative session under Marshall. In accordance with Marshall's address to the 1910 Indiana Democratic Convention and his speech to the General Assembly, Senate Bill 18—approved March 2, 1911—expanded food regulation to cold storage facilities. The state imposed a nine-month limit for foodstuffs in cold storage. All food placed or stored in cold storage had to be "marked, stamped or tagged" and, if nine months passed, the food could not legally

⁸⁴ Phillips, *Indiana in Transition*, 216.

⁸⁵ *Indianapolis News*, 5 January 1911.

be sold to the public.⁸⁶ Senate Bill 18 expanded the State Board of Health's scope yet again because it became this new law's enforcer. Fines ranged from \$25 for the first violation to \$200 and thirty to ninety days in jail for the third offense.⁸⁷ Senate Bill 28—approved March 1, 1911—worked in tandem with Senate Bill 18 and focused on kids because it set standards for schoolhouse sanitation and mandated lessons for children about proper hygiene.⁸⁸

Legal cocaine sales in Indiana by pharmacists concerned Hoosier politicians and House Bill 90 sought to conserve human life by outlawing cocaine sales due to the drug's destructively addictive qualities.⁸⁹ Marshall later remarked that Senate Bills 18 and 28 contained sound policy as he included the passage of both bills in a manuscript reviewing Democratic accomplishments in Indiana regarding the 1911 General Assembly.⁹⁰ The popularity of earlier pure food laws under Marshall helped these measures easily pass. The emphasis that Marshall placed on human life conservation during the 1908 and 1910 campaigns ensured that passing such legislation would be swift.

The steady increase in the State Board of Health's responsibilities necessitated a dramatic funding increase. More staff had to be hired and more testing had to be carried out for sanitary food and water conditions. In 1911, the State Board of Health had \$14,500 budget; after the cold storage and sanitary school laws were passed and cocaine

⁸⁶ Laws of the State of Indiana, 1911 (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1911), 114.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 117.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 45.

⁹⁰ Review of Democratic Accomplishments in Indiana, Thomas Riley Marshall, 1912. Thomas Riley Marshall Papers, Indiana State Library, Manuscript Section, Box L100, "Correspondence & Speeches and Writings," Box 1 of 6. Folder 16 of 16, "Speeches and writings 1912."

was outlawed in 1911, the Board's budget dramatically jumped to \$24,500.⁹¹ Marshall's insistence that he be given proper tools to fully enforce the law helped generate the State Board of Health's increased budget, which meant that human life conservation legislation would be more effectively enforced.

Human life conservation in the form of workplace safety, received serious attention when House Bill 627 created the State Bureau of Inspection and charged it with carrying out building, factory, workshop, mine, and boiler inspections.⁹² The law gave the governor the power to appoint a chief inspector to head the department and also allowed the governor to appoint the heads of all the sub-departments. Marshall sought this law because it allowed him to place people with specific knowledge about these very complicated jobs and gave him the power to remove ineffective appointees who abused their positions. With a bureau solely designated to hazardous work zone inspections and safety, standards were more efficiently upheld and worker safety became a higher priority.

The Remainder of Marshall's Tenure

Marshall's vigorous efforts to promote conservation manifested themselves outside his lobbying efforts in the Indiana General Assembly. As with his first two years in office, Marshall's strict law enforcement with executive departments and his personal advocacy advanced state efforts for conservation.

In October 1911, Governor Marshall, under the auspices of the Indiana branch of the National Conservation Association, called the first-ever Indiana Conservation

⁹¹ "Report of the Indiana State Board of Health to the Legislative Investigating Committee," J.N. Hurty, 30 November, 1912. Papers of Thomas Riley Marshall, Indiana State Archives, Commission on Public Records, Box 82, Folder 11, "Health, State Board of."

⁹² Laws of the State of Indiana, 1911, 553.

Congress, hoping to “stimulate interest among the people of Indiana in conserving and developing the resources of the state.”⁹³ Farmers, bankers, lawyers, and state officials such as H.E. Barnard, the state food and drug commissioner, and Indiana State Board of Health Secretary, J.N. Hurty, all participated in the congress. Attendance at the conference was significant and caused the Indianapolis News to state that the numbers “demonstrated the widespread interest” in conservation throughout Indiana.

Speeches during the conference covered natural resource and human life conservation. A Purdue University Agricultural Professor, W.E. Stone, emphasized that conservation meant more than “checking invasion and preventing wastes of public lands, forests and national resources,” and that human life preservation fits into its purview.⁹⁴ The interpretation of what conservation meant by Stone fit well with Marshall’s own conservation endeavors during his term.

Marshall’s speech at the Indiana Conservation Congress reinforced his continually impressive reputation as conservation’s champion. Marshall echoed several themes from his campaign stances in his reasoning for his strong stance. Marshall claimed that conservation efforts toward the streams stemmed “predatory wealth” influences. Marshall said conservation was essential to ensuring that the benefit of streams were preserved for the people and “not perverted to private ownership and private monopolies.”⁹⁵ Due to the importance of securing the streams, Marshall used his speech at the Indiana Conservation Congress to announce his intent to have the Kankakee River legally ruled a navigable river so that the state could claim ownership of adjacent swamp lands that were not under federal jurisdiction and enact reclamation projects

⁹³ Indianapolis News, 28 October 1911.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ Indianapolis Star, 29 October 1911.

designed to drain the swamps and make the land profitable to Indiana through sales and development.⁹⁶ The Indiana Conservation Congress approved of Marshall's actions so much they adopted a resolution commending him for his efforts to recover "all lands and water powers and other public property and right improperly appropriated to private use."⁹⁷

Trumpeting the pure food and drug laws and strong enforcement under his administration, Marshall stated "the health of the people is the greatest thing we have to conserve."⁹⁸ He also praised the State Board of Forestry's work and Marshall advocated coal saving devices that produced electricity to conserve what the 1908 Governor's Conference suggested was a swiftly diminishing coal supply. By calling such a significant event in Indiana, which brought attention to Marshall's achievements regarding conservation, Marshall greatly contributed to his reputation as a strong conservation proponent. Such a strong connection to conservation showed that Democrats could be very supportive of such progressive ideas, which helped Democrats in previous elections and could help in future contests.

The State Board of Forestry continued its efforts to promote forest conservation. Charles C. Deam gave a speech in January 1911, urging the continued reforestation of Indiana. Deam called for tree planting on all public grounds and farm wastelands, around schools, and along streets and streams.⁹⁹ The State Board of Forestry pushed for more lands to be put into its charge to help with reforestation and noted that other states, such

⁹⁶ Indianapolis News, 30 October 1911.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Indianapolis Star, 29 October 1911.

⁹⁹ Indianapolis News, 31 January 1911.

as Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, and New York, had increased their reserves.¹⁰⁰ The state forestry essay contest continued and received coverage in the Indianapolis papers, with the winning essay being published in its entirety in the Indianapolis Star on June 4, 1911.¹⁰¹ The 1911 topic corresponded with Deam's efforts to secure widespread reforestation with the subject, "To What Extent Should Indiana Be Reforested?"¹⁰²

The State Board of Forestry's work garnered success. Woodlots and tracts of land flush with timber greatly expanded under Deam's guidance. The number of woodlots increased by the hundreds all around the state and thousands of acres in aggregate area and hundreds of thousands of trees were established during Marshall's term with Deam's assistance.¹⁰³ Woodlot expansion showed popular interest in conservation and a willingness to spend money and time on tree planting. Reforestation found significant support from women's groups. The State Board of Forestry noted repeated inquiries from unspecified women's groups requesting bulletins about the planting and care of shade trees and such groups' efforts to plant these trees in their communities greatly assisted in the reforestation effort.¹⁰⁴

The Indiana State Board of Health continued its mission to strongly enforce the new and important pure food laws in the state. To spread knowledge about the importance of pure food legislation, the State Board of Health sponsored a dramatic play to tour the state along with an exhibition that featured an "impressive array of photographs, samples of pure and impure foods, charts and stereopticon slides that are to

¹⁰⁰ Chas. C. Deam, Eleventh Annual Report of the State Board of Forestry, 1911 (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1912), 14.

¹⁰¹ Indianapolis Star, 4 June 1911.

¹⁰² Deam, Eleventh Annual Report of the State Board of Forestry, 1911, 40.

¹⁰³ Elijah G. Gladden, Thirteenth Annual Report of the State Board of Forestry, 1913 (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1914), 73.

¹⁰⁴ Chas. C. Deam, Twelfth Annual Report of the Indiana State Board of Forestry, 1912 (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1913), 11.

make thousands think” about pure food.¹⁰⁵ H.E. Branard, the head of the Pure Food Department within the State Board of Health hoped that the traveling show would “open eyes to food wrongs that will be righted.”¹⁰⁶

The extraordinary advances regarding conservation from 1909 to 1913 under Governor Thomas Marshall’s leadership corresponded with an era of increasing public support and approval for progressive ideals. Indiana Republicans could not resolve the differences that these progressive ideals produced in their party. The Republican Party’s reign from 1896 to 1908 failed to enact the widespread conservation legislation that Theodore Roosevelt popularized. Due to Republican strife and the poor record previous Republican administrations amassed, Democrats seized conservation as a political issue designed to lure progressive-leaning Republicans and independents into the fold and to keep progressive Democrats happy. Marshall’s campaign emphasized conservation and his victory in the 1908 election afforded him a chance to carry out his campaign promises. Marshall’s faithful execution of sound conservation policy after his election earned him a reputation as a leader of the Indiana conservation movement and proved that the Democratic Party could be trusted to secure progressive legislation. The tactics Marshall used for victory did not go unnoticed by his successor, Samuel Moffett Ralston.

¹ Suelien Hoy, “Samuel M. Ralston: Progressive Governor, 1913-1917” (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1975), 6-7.

¹⁰⁵ Indianapolis News, 2 December 1911.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

Chapter Three:

Samuel M. Ralston and the 1912 Gubernatorial Campaign

Born on December 1, 1857, near New Cumberland, Ohio, Samuel M. Ralston moved with his parents to Vigo County, Indiana in 1865.¹ Ralston spent his early life on the family farm where he did general farm work, cut lumber for sale, and helped sink a coal shaft.² Ralston had irregular attendance at school due to his family's lack of income, which required him to work most of the time. Through solid study efforts, Ralston overcame his erratic school schedule and attended Central Normal College in Danville, Indiana, where he got involved with the Young Men's Democratic Club.³ After college, Ralston read law in the office of J.C. Robinson and I.H. Fowler and gained admission to the Owen County Bar in January 1886, after which he moved to Lebanon, Indiana, to set up his practice.⁴ During his early years in Lebanon, Ralston kept up with Democratic politics and unsuccessfully ran for office several times.

Ralston's electoral losses for minor offices did not bother him much. Ralston longed for a chance to be governor. Ralston established a solid relationship with Thomas Taggart, the head of the Indiana Democratic Party, a friendship that seemingly would prove valuable. He went to the 1908 Indiana State Democratic Convention hoping to secure his party's nomination to the coveted office. Internal Democratic politics, however, prevented him from winning. Seen by many as a Democratic "boss"—Thomas Taggart's willing servant—and a favorite of the brewery interests, the anti-Taggart sect in the party refused to vote for Ralston and the Taggart forces refused to support the anti-

¹ Suellen Hoy, "Samuel M. Ralston: Progressive Governor, 1913-1917" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1975), 6-7.

² *Indianapolis Star*, 4 February 1912.

³ Hoy, "Samuel M. Ralston," 7-8.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 9.

Taggart nominee, L. Ert Slack because he was a member of the temperance movement.⁵

Thomas Riley Marshall became the compromise candidate for the Indiana Democrats and managed to unite the party behind his candidacy and the party platform.

After four years as governor, Marshall could not seek the office again because the Indiana Constitution did not allow governors to run for reelection. Marshall moved on to become a serious presidential contender and ultimately became Woodrow Wilson's vice president. With Marshall gone, Ralston stepped into the void. Recognizing that Marshall left a shining reputation behind him, Ralston wished to bask in its glow. Ralston had a longstanding belief that the Democratic Party needed to unite all citizens who desired to defeat the Republican Party. To do this, Ralston chose to emphasize issues that united people under the Democratic banner and exclude issues that "cannot be made a dominant one, and which tends to divide those who should work together."⁶ Because conservation served Marshall well during his bid for the governor's office and his administration enforced vigorous and popular conservation legislation, Ralston continued Marshall's strategic use of conservation in an effort to help him win the election against a fractured Republican Party.

Republican Rift

The Indiana Republican Party maintained the same divisions it experienced in 1908. The divisions, however, no longer solely belonged to Indiana Republicans. Republicans nationwide experienced a traumatic split into rival factions. The fractures stemmed from the conflict raging between the Republican Party's most visible leaders,

⁵ James Philip Fadely, Thomas Taggart: Public Servant, Political Boss, 1856-1929 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1997), 115.

⁶ Untitled biographical essay. Samuel M. Ralston Manuscript Collection, Indiana University Ruth Lilly Library, Box, "Correspondence 1886-1912, Nov.," Folder, "Biographical material."

former president Theodore Roosevelt and current president William Howard Taft. Roosevelt handpicked Taft to succeed him to the presidency, believing that Taft would continue Roosevelt's progressive policies, including conservation. Taft did not live up to Roosevelt's expectations—Taft seemingly did not have the resolve to carry out Roosevelt's policies. The Ballinger-Pinchot affair illustrated Taft's reluctance. Roosevelt's chief forester, Gifford Pinchot, assailed the integrity of Taft's secretary of the interior, Richard Ballinger, because Ballinger began to undo Roosevelt's conservation policies. Roosevelt and Pinchot were extremely angry that lands in the public domain were going to be opened to bidding by private organizations that wanted to use the nation's natural resources to make money. Roosevelt and Pinchot did not want private ownership of natural resources. Roosevelt wanted to guarantee what he called "an adequate material basis" to sustain the United States and, to accomplish this, Roosevelt felt that he had to utilize "our public lands for the public" through securing water, forage, coal, and timber for the public.⁷ Taft did not share this view, he wanted private development of public lands to boost business. The Ballinger-Pinchot Affair evinced the mounting bitterness between the Roosevelt and Taft factions of the Republican Party. The bitterness and tension eventually split the Republicans on the national level in 1912.⁸ Historian Frank E. Smith concurs with this interpretation, stating that "the conservation issue largely created the Republican schism that was to assure him (Woodrow Wilson) the

⁷ WJ McGee, Proceedings of a Conference of Governors (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1909), vi.

⁸ James Penick, Jr., Progressive Politics and Conservation: The Ballinger Pinchot Affair (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968), ix.

Presidency.”⁹ “Needling tactics of Midwestern Insurgents who used conservation issues for ammunition” greatly irritated Taft and left him open to attack from all sides.¹⁰

Signs of Republican disintegration were everywhere. Significant Republicans found doubt in their party. Former Indiana State Senator William Dudley Foulke wrote to Theodore Roosevelt, suggesting that if Roosevelt did not get the Republican nomination for president during the 1912 convention, it would be “time for a good many of us to look anxiously for a new party.”¹¹ The chairman of the Indiana Republican Party, Edwin Lee, issued a statement calling into question Taft’s ability to win Indiana. This statement caused a split in the state party leadership. Leaders Charles W. Fairbanks, James B. Kealing, Captain Harry S. New, James A. Hemenway, and James E. Watson rebuked Lee and refused to acknowledge any truth to Lee’s claim.¹² A rift in the Republican Party between the progressives and conservatives caused a fracture in the leadership, which also evinced itself on all levels of the party.

The formation of new state organizations further illustrated the disillusionment progressive Republicans had with their party. The Hoosier Progressive League formed in early 1912 and vowed to make sure the Republican Party nominated progressive candidates.¹³ By the beginning of May 1912, factions of the College Republicans across the state formed Roosevelt clubs. Roosevelt clubs surfaced at Indiana University,

⁹ Frank E. Smith, The Politics of Conservation (New York: Pantheon Books, A Division of Random House, 1966), 126.

¹⁰ Samuel P. Hays, Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890–1920 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959), 168.

¹¹ Letter, William Dudley Foulke to Theodore Roosevelt, 17 March 1912. William Dudley Foulke Papers, Indiana State Library, Manuscript Section, Box L56, “Correspondence 1849-1921,” Box 1 of 3. Folder 6 of 13, “Correspondence 1910-1913.”

¹² Carl Painter, “The Progressive Party in Indiana,” Indiana Magazine of History 16, (1920): 182.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 189.

Earlham, Wabash, Franklin and DePauw.¹⁴ The tension within the Indiana Republican Party became obvious by the time the Indiana Democratic Party held their convention. Capitalizing on the Republican rift, Indiana Democrats highlighted issues that caused strife among Republicans. As the Ballinger-Pinchot Affair illustrated, conservation policy did not receive universal Republican support. The Indiana Democratic Party's strong calls for conservation policy united and pleased progressive Democrats and made the Indiana Democratic Party more appealing to progressive Republicans.

As in 1908 and 1910, the Indiana Democratic Party sought to use the division of their rival party to their advantage. In 1908 and 1910 the Indiana Democratic Party used conservation issues in the party platform to acquire dissatisfied Republicans and to hold on to progressive Democratic supporters. Indiana Democrats realized the entire country seethed with progressive sentiment and sought to capitalize on this.¹⁵ The incorporation of conservation into the 1912 Democratic platform, along with speeches advancing progressive conservation ideals during the campaign, were designed to lure progressive-leaning voters to the Democratic ranks and to retain progressive Democrats.

1912 Indiana State Democratic Convention and Campaign

The Indiana Democratic Party held its convention on May 22, 1912, and sought to embrace progressive ideals such as conservation to keep the party united and to look attractive to progressive voters outside the Democratic fold. The party adopted a platform that endorsed and approved the record of the Democratic legislature for its "rational, progressive legislation," of which conservation played a significant role.¹⁶ The

¹⁴ *Indianapolis Star*, 22 May 1912.

¹⁵ *Ibid*.

¹⁶ *Ibid*.

¹⁴ *Indianapolis Star*, 1 May 1912. Samuel M. Raiston, 1912. Samuel M. Raiston Manuscript Collection.

¹⁵ Painter, "The Progressive Party in Indiana," 185. 1882 Correspondence 1996-1912, New Folder

¹⁶ Stoll, *History of the Indiana Democracy*, 419.

party securely tied itself to the conservation accomplishments of Governor Marshall in an attempt to portray the entire party as progressive.

The 1912 Indiana Democratic platform stated:

We especially commend his (Marshall) steps inaugurating judicial action for the conservation of the public lands, and for reclaiming title for the state to the beds of streams officially declared navigable...a movement which makes possible the saving to the public resources of enormous value.¹⁷

Other progressive planks strongly approved of Marshall's positive actions concerning conservation, including cold storage limitations to preserve food, sanitary school houses, and the Bureau of Inspection for factories, mines, and boilers. Indianapolis Star noted that including conservation into the Indiana Democratic platform offered "friendly asylum to all the disaffected Republicans, and to that amiable attitude for success at the November Polls."¹⁸

Ralston received the 1912 Democratic nomination for governor with a unanimous vote.¹⁹ Ralston emphasized the Democratic legislature's progressive nature in his 1912 campaign speeches. During Ralston's first campaign speech, he stated, "the party that stands for protecting, through the exercise of these (governmental) powers, the citizen in his rights as a member of society, is a progressive party—a party after the hearts of the fathers who gave us this republic. The democratic party of Indiana is a progressive party. It believes in obedience to the people and when the people are obeyed, the people rule."²⁰ Ralston implied that he would continue Marshall's progressive policies regarding

¹⁷ Indianapolis Star, 22 May 1912.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁰ Ralston's First campaign speech, Samuel M. Ralston, 1912. Samuel M. Ralston Manuscript Collection, Indiana University Ruth Lilly Library, Box 1, "CMC 1882 Correspondence 1906-1912, Nov.," Folder "1912, n.d."

conservation. Ralston stated, "A political party if it desires to attain success must be progressive. Progressiveness can better be proved by works than by words. The work of the 67th General Assembly of Indiana, which convened in Indianapolis in 1911, proves conclusively that the Democratic Party is the Progressive party of Indiana and as such is entitled to succeed itself."²¹ The Ralston campaign had many people testify to Ralston's progressive credentials. H.G. Brown, Lebanon Superintendent of schools and Republican stated, "He [Ralston] always favored every progressive measure and gave the school affairs the same careful thought and attention that has made him such a successful member of his profession."²² The emphasis on progressive issues only increased as the campaign moved forward. Touting conservation reforms allowed Democrats to claim progressive credentials.

The strategy to portray the Indiana Democratic Party as progressive did not only have to do with siphoning votes from bewildered Republicans. The Democrats needed to retain the loyalty of their own progressive-leaning members. There were many who worried that progressive Democrats would flock to a new progressive party if it were to form. Indianapolis Star noted, "Democracy party workers in Indiana also are much concerned over the new party movement and the possibilities connected with that projected organization."²³ Party members never missed a chance to call for progressive reforms and to support progressive Democratic candidates. When considering a new representative to the Democratic National Committee, Indiana's Democratic

²¹ "A review of the Laws Enacted by the Last General Assembly," Samuel M. Ralston, 1912. Samuel M. Ralston Manuscript Collection, Indiana University Ruth Lilly Library, Box 1, "CMC 1882 Correspondence 1886-1912, Nov.," Folder "1912, n.d."

²² "Some Sidelights On the Life and Character of Governor Samuel M. Ralston." Samuel M. Ralston Manuscript Collection, Indiana University Ruth Lilly Library, Box, Correspondence "1886-1912, Nov.," Folder, "Biographical material."

²³ Indianapolis Star, 5 July 1912.

congressmen insisted on a progressive person. Representative W.A. Cullop wanted a progressive committee person because “at least 90 per cent of the Democrats in Indiana are progressive.”²⁴ Representative Barnhart agreed with Cullop, stating, “I want a man in full sympathy with the progressive spirit of Democracy.”²⁵

The progressive/conservative tension in the Republican Party eventually did cause a split and the formation of a new party, the Progressive Party. Theodore Roosevelt gave a speech on June 20, 1912, in which he said if some progressives chose to “inaugurate a movement to nominate me for the presidency as a Progressive on a Progressive platform, and if in such event the general feeling among Progressives favors my being nominated, I shall accept.”²⁶ Shortly after this speech, the Indiana Progressive Party held a convention on August 2, 1912, and nominated Roosevelt for president and Albert J. Beveridge for governor. The newly formed Indiana Progressive Party claimed that “ordinary voters of both old parties” were attracted to the Progressives and that “many influential Democrats” were willing to join the Progressive Party.²⁷

Policies and public statements about the Democratic Party’s “progressiveness” had to be maintained so progressive Democrats would not revolt. Governor Marshall caused quite a stir during a campaign speech in Indiana, supporting Ralston and Wilson when he declared that he did not know whether he was a progressive. The entire crowd—including dignitaries—expressed shock, but Marshall quickly came around by stating that since his party was progressive, so was he.²⁸

²⁴ Indianapolis Star, 11 July 1912.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Painter, “The Progressive Party in Indiana,” 200.

²⁷ Indianapolis Star, 31 July 1912.

²⁸ Indianapolis Star, 17 July 1912.

In Marshall's other speeches concerning the Indiana gubernatorial race, he left little question as to his progressive ideals regarding conservation. Marshall proudly spoke of the new State Bureau of Inspection, which came into existence during his administration, because it conserved the "public health" and improved "sanitary conditions."²⁹ In his most succinct statement on Democrats' progressiveness, Marshall stated, "the Democrat is a true Progressive."³⁰

Henry W. Bullock encouraged Ralston to include conservation language in his campaign speeches. In July 1912, Bullock claimed that old Democratic arguments concerning the tariff and finances would not work and advocated for Ralston to be more specific and advocate for things that the "working people" want.³¹ Ralston took Bullock's advice to heart as he intensified his advocacy for human life and natural resource conservation in an effort to attract the "working people" and the progressive wings of both the Democratic and Republican parties. Much like Marshall before him, Ralston undertook an ambitious speaking schedule that took him to all corners of the state where he delivered his message about conservation.³² In September, Ralston started to deliver a new stump speech centered on conservation issues that appealed to the working class. Ralston stated that Indiana "cannot afford not to make the most liberal provisions"

wasted from 1896. . . . [saying that] "blackout" was the impact of the

energy sources are now being depleted, as in the past, Ralston urged for the

²⁹ Speech, Thomas Riley Marshall, 24 September 1912. Thomas Riley Marshall Papers, Indiana State Library, Manuscript Section, Box L100, "Correspondence & Speeches and Writings," Box 1 of 6. Folder 15 of 16, "Speeches and writings 1912."

³⁰ Speech, Thomas Riley Marshall, 25 September 1912. Thomas Riley Marshall Papers, Indiana State Library, Manuscript Section, Box L100, "Correspondence & Speeches and Writings," Box 1 of 6, Folder 15 of 16, "Speeches and writings 1912."

³¹ Letter, Henry W. Bullock to Samuel M. Ralston, 21 September 1912. Samuel M. Ralston Manuscript Collection, Indiana University Ruth Lilly Library, Box 1, "CMC 1882 Correspondence 1886-1912 Nov.," Folder "1912, Sept-Oct."

³² Painter, "The Progressive Party in Indiana," 228.

for its workers' safety.³³ Claiming that "a healthy citizenship is essential to both happiness and progress," Ralston declared Indiana must secure by law "sanitary conditions for those whom it is lawful to employ."³⁴ The conservation laws passed under Governor Marshall installed inspection of many work locations into Indiana code, conservation that benefited the working classes by preserving their lives. Ralston's conservation language resembled Marshall's in an effort to associate himself with Marshall's successful term.

Ralston also championed the conservation of coal, natural gas, and oil as part of these speeches. Ralston argued that Americans had a responsibility to ensure future generations would have coal and iron to use. Sounding very much like the famous conservationist, Gifford Pinchot, Ralston stated, "Of the gifts of nature it [human civilization] has the right to use up to the full measure of its necessities but it has no right to commit waste."³⁵ According to Ralston, humans must conserve natural resources because humans "cannot make a pound of coal, or a foot of natural gas or a pint of earth oil."³⁶ Ralston insisted frugality had to rule human use of natural energy sources, remarking that from 1820–1895, six billion tons of coal were "either destroyed or allowed to remain in the ground, forever inaccessible" and another three billion tons were wasted from 1896–1906.³⁷ Claiming that "mankind will be greatly impoverished" if energy sources are continually depleted, as in the past, Ralston called for laws forcing the mine operators to adopt "methods in removing coal from the earth that will avoid this

³³ Speech, Samuel M. Ralston, 12 September, 1912. Samuel M. Ralston Manuscript Collection, Indiana University Ruth Lilly Library, Box 1, "CMC 1882 Correspondence 1886-1912 Nov.," Folder "1912, Sept-Oct."

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid.

astounding waste and be more remunerative to them than are present methods. We owe this to the future.”³⁸

The other prong of the Democratic strategy regarding conservation involved exploiting the National Conservation Congress held in Indianapolis October 1–4, 1912, through speeches prominent Hoosiers made. Set up by the National Conservation Association, with Gifford Pinchot as the head, some felt that Congress was attempting to court public sentiment against Taft’s policies that undid Roosevelt’s conservation efforts.³⁹ The Congress focused on conserving human vitality. The Congress stressed that conserving natural resources and human vitality were “closely interwoven” because “protection against mining accidents, forest fires, floods or pollution of streams prevents not only loss of property, but loss of life.”⁴⁰ Newspapers in the month leading up to the meeting stressed conservation’s importance. An editorial in the Indianapolis Star emphasized the “enormous drains on the country’s natural resources” and fears about the exhaustion of coal and natural gas.⁴¹ Ralston’s critics lambasted him for incorporating conservation into his speeches. Critics called Ralston’s progressive ideas “pathetic,” trying to imply that he just spoke about conservation to win votes.⁴² Even if Ralston’s attempts were an effort to win votes, he did champion conservation with gusto and the Indiana Democratic Party used the National Conservation Congress to illustrate conservation’s importance.

Capturing the spirit of conservation, the Democratic Party launched a publicity campaign that highlighted its sympathy with the conservation movement. The stump

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Hays, Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency, 177.

⁴⁰ Indianapolis Star, 1 September 1912.

⁴¹ Indianapolis Star, 11 September 1912.

⁴² Indianapolis Star, 13 September 1912.

speeches by Hoosier and former United States chemist and pure food advocate Harvey W. Wiley, along with Indiana State Board of Health Secretary J.N. Hurty, praised Indiana Democrats for their solid conservation efforts. H.W. Wiley gained fame for pushing pure food and drug laws during Theodore Roosevelt's presidency. By incorporating the support of such a fervent and vocal leader of the human life conservation movement into its campaign, the Indiana Democratic Party sought to claim the title of a progressive party that gained positive results.

Leading up to the National Conservation Congress, J.N. Hurty, long associated with the Indiana pure food movement, came out in support of the Indiana Democratic Party and its candidates for their progressive stances on pure food and drugs. Hurty, a life-long Republican, retained by Marshall when he came to office, claimed he would vote for the Democrats because the Republicans did not have a pure food plank in their platform and did not address the issues.⁴³

Ralston's stump speech regarding natural resource conservation stressed many issues that the National Conservation Congress highlighted during its meeting in Indianapolis. On October 3, 1912, Marion A. Crocker, the conservation chairman for The General Federation of Women's Clubs, made a strong plea for natural resource conservation as a basis of human life preservation at the National Conservation Congress.⁴⁴ Though Crocker was not directly associated with Ralston, Crocker's speech lent the gubernatorial candidate's stance on conservation significant approbation. Crocker noted that natural resource conservation could "not be overlooked" because without

⁴³ Indianapolis Star, 19 September 1912.

⁴⁴ Indianapolis Star, 4 October 1912.

natural resources there would be no human existence.⁴⁵ The attention given to natural resource conservation buttressed Ralston's stump speech about the importance of natural resource conservation, particularly coal, making Ralston appear knowledgeable and progressive in his thinking.

Harvey W. Wiley appealed to Republicans to aid the Democrats in the 1912 election during the National Conservation Congress. Praising Marshall for his "support of the board of health and pure food law enforcement and for activity along the line of remedial legislation having to do with bettering living and working conditions in the state," Wiley stated, "I am sure nobody can make a mistake in voting the straight Democratic ticket in the country."⁴⁶

Democrats further utilized the National Conservation Congress with presidential candidate Woodrow Wilson making a speech to the Congress in Indianapolis. Wilson stated that the conservation movement, "especially that toward the conservation of man, is the largest and broadest movement in the world today, and politics is one of the means toward realization of its ends."⁴⁷ Wilson's speech reiterated yet again that the Democratic Party understood conservation's importance and that, through Democratic politics, the conservation goals would be realized.

After the National Conservation Congress concluded on October 4, the Indiana Democrats continued to emphasize conservation in order to persuade progressive voters to vote for them. Just one day later, Wiley made another speech supporting Indiana Democrats. Wiley said "the chief cause of breaking ways from my lifelong political affiliations is directly due to the attitude of two Republican administrations," adding that

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Indianapolis Star, 3 October 1912.

⁴⁷ Indianapolis Star, 4 October 1912.

“every freethinking man” should cast his vote for the entire state Democratic ticket due to the Republican’s lack of progressive thinking in this area.⁴⁸

In conjunction with Wiley’s remarks, the Indiana Democratic Party disseminated supporting evidence for the Democratic Party’s claims of progressive ideals. Stating that Wiley’s position with the State Board of Health and his advocacy for pure food laws makes him an enemy of the “poisoners of food” and a “popular hero and idol,” Wiley is a legitimate authority on the issue.⁴⁹ The statement goes on to claim that Roosevelt secretly conferred with “adulterators and poisonous food manufacturers” to form weak pure food legislation, and the only end to the corruption surrounding pure food laws and their effective enforcement for the people’s benefit would be a Democratic victory.⁵⁰

Marshall continued the Democratic cry for conservation. In a speech in Indianapolis on October 11, Marshall declared the conservation of life, liberty, and happiness “to be one of the main issues of the present campaign.”⁵¹ Marshall also emphasized natural resources’ importance and noted that his record as Indiana’s governor proved his sincerity toward the issue. Conservation’s prominence in Marshall’s speech continued the Indiana Democratic Party’s strategy to win votes with the issue.

Ralston used Marshall’s record on conservation to help his candidacy. In a speech in the Sipe Theater on October 19, Ralston staunchly defended Marshall’s administration. Ralston declared that he “was always willing to stand by the record of the Democratic Party wherever it had a chance to make a record.”⁵² Ralston’s stance with

⁴⁸ Indianapolis Star, 5 October 1912.

⁴⁹ “Democratic Committee Press Bureau----Release at Once.” Samuel M. Ralston Manuscript Collection, Indiana University Ruth Lilly Library, Box 1, “CMC 1882 Correspondence 1886-1912,” Folder “1912, Sept-Oct.”

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Indianapolis Star, 12 October 1912.

⁵² Indianapolis Star, 20 October 1912.

Marshall's conservation record allowed him to use previous achievements to his political ends. Ralston's defense of previous conservation policy positioned him as a candidate who would fight for sound conservation policy; an issue that previous campaign events proved was a popular issue.

The remarks Hurty made before the National Conservation Congress and Wiley's declarations shortly after the Congress ended sparked another Democratic campaign tactic around which conservation served their purposes. In addition to claiming that the Indiana Democratic Party truly represented progressive ideology, the Democrats aggressively attacked the new Progressive Party for not embracing progressive practices and ideas. Ralston told a crowd in Rensselaer that he stood on the conservation reforms his party's platform advocates and that Beveridge could not be a true progressive because "Mr. Beveridge has opposed them all."⁵³ Ralston called the Progressive Party the "alleged Progressive Party" and declared that the Democratic Party represented the true spirit of progressivism.⁵⁴

The advice from Henry W. Bullock to utilize issues that corresponded with the citizenry's needs paid off. The Indianapolis Star noted that the Democrats' human life conservation stance aligned the party with labor issues.⁵⁵ Taking the labor vote meant that Democrats had a well-organized portion of the population on their side. Human life conservation helped secure this vital voting block. Natural resource conservation also assisted in this effort—the longer coal and other resource are around, the longer many union miners and other workers would have jobs.

⁵³ Speech, Samuel M. Ralston, 21 October, 1912. Samuel M. Ralston Manuscript Collection, Indiana University Ruth Lilly Library. Box 1, "CMC 1882 Correspondence 1886-1912, Nov.," Folder "1912, Sept-Oct."

⁵⁴ Indianapolis Star, 2 October 1912.

⁵⁵ Indianapolis Star, 3 November 1912.

President William Howard Taft inadvertently assisted Democratic efforts to claim conservation as their own when he denounced the practice of conservation just before Election Day. Taft asserted the Republican Party did not believe in a conservation policy, “which would tie up our natural resources.”⁵⁶ Taft insisted that he only held part of the public domain that has coal, phosphate, and oil “until congress shall make provision for its disposition by lease on profitable terms to private capital.”⁵⁷ Taft claimed that he would ensure that monopolies did not develop from the sale of land to one entity. Compared to Democrats and Progressives who adamantly opposed selling the public domain, Taft made the Republican Party appear to be the party that favored big business at the public’s expense. The Indiana Democratic Party’s adoption of conservation set the party squarely against Taft’s policy and set them along with the public’s well being.

The 1912 election result returned Democrats to dominance in Indiana. The electorate returned both houses with Democratic majorities. Ralston’s bid for the governor’s office capped the Democratic success. The Democratic strategy, adopting progressive ideals such as conservation, kept Democratic voters together and appealed to Republicans who did not wish to vote for either the old Republican Party or the Progressive Party. Ralston won the election with 275,357 votes to Progressive candidate Beveridge’s 166,124 and Republican Durbin’s 142,850.⁵⁸ The combination of Beveridge and Durbin’s votes in a unified Republican vote would have beaten Ralston by 33,617. Ralston and the Democrats skillfully used the rift within the Republican Party to win the election. By adopting progressive ideals concerning conservation, the Indiana

⁵⁶ Indianapolis News, 2 November 1912.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Stoll, History of the Indiana Democracy, 421.

Democratic Party maintained its cohesiveness. For many Democrats, the chance for their own party's success—under a leader whom many Democrats viewed as progressive—was too great for them to disregard, so they voted heavily for Ralston.⁵⁹

Ralston's victory signaled continued Democratic dominance in Indiana. Urged by supporters such as Henry W. Bullock to act on his campaign promises, Ralston did just that. Bullock felt that the Democrats would be put to the test, and the only way to pass would be with laws that "continually made for the protections of life," and not repealing the legislation passed during Marshall's administration regarding factory safety.⁶⁰

Ralston rewarded his progressive supporters with his actions after his election. In Ralston's victory speech on November 5, he pledged to "yield obedience to the platform declaration of my party," and to "endeavor to understand the desire of the people."⁶¹ Ralston's pledge resulted in a gubernatorial record that boasted many new conservation laws, and the continued efficient conservation law enforcement that Marshall had started.

⁵⁹ Painter, "The Progressive Party in Indiana," 237.

⁶⁰ Letter, Henry W. Bullock to Samuel M. Ralston, 6 November 1912. Samuel M. Ralston Manuscript Collection, Indiana University Ruth Lilly Library. Box 1, "CMC 1882 Correspondence 1886-1912 Nov.," Folder "1912, Nov."

⁶¹ Indianapolis Star, 6 November 1912.

Chapter Four:

Samuel M. Ralston's Term as Governor

The 1912 election returned a Democratic state government. Democrats held the Indiana house, senate, and governor's office. Maintaining party unity and appealing to dissatisfied Republican and Progressive voters allowed the Democrats to beat their rival parties. Democratic politicians, notably Samuel Ralston, adopted conservation as a political platform to attract progressive voters. With their goals attained, domination of state government, the Democrats proceeded to act on their campaign promises.

Outgoing governor and vice-president elect, Thomas Marshall, commented on the progressive tone of the 1912 election and urged those in power to act on these popular issues during his farewell address to the Indiana General Assembly. Marshall remarked, "One cannot contemplate the results of the last election without being deeply impressed with a just determination of the part of the people to secure remedial legislation."¹ Marshall indicated that the people clamored for progressive legislation and the legislature must act accordingly. Marshall said:

Progressive legislation may be enacted with no disturbance to the checks and balances of our system of government. Unless progressive legislation is enacted, the people, some day, will open up the cul-de-sac even though the opening may lead representative government over a precipice into pure socialism or paternalism.²

Marshall encouraged progressive legislation to secure representative government's standing in America, to show the people the government would respond to their needs. The positive sentiment toward progressive legislation received a second from the newly elected Speaker of the House.

¹ Journal of the Indiana State Senate, 1913 (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1913), 27.

² *Ibid.*, 12-13.

Speaker Homer L. Cook heaped praise on Ralston. Calling Ralston the second Thomas A. Hendricks, Cook described Ralston as:

A fearless leader, a square fighter, a man of lofty purposes and high ideals; a man whose life and character fits so well into the progressive movements of the day that the people of Indiana elected him Governor by the largest plurality ever given a candidate for that office.³

Speaker Cook's comments demonstrated that a governor elected with the largest plurality ever, 275,357 votes, received respect from the legislature. Ralston used the legislature's respect for him to influence legislative outcomes that conformed to his stance regarding conservation.

Ralston affirmed the need for progressive legislation during the 1913 legislative session. During Ralston's address the Indiana General Assembly, he called on the Democratic Party to carry out Democratic campaign promises, among which conservation played a solid role. Ralston told the onlookers, "I assume that the Democratic majority of the present legislature will abide by and promptly proceed to carry out the last platform declarations made by its party in this State. Not to carry out this platform would be a betrayal of the people's confidence."⁴

Ralston also promised to implement the law firmly and fairly, just as Marshall did. Marshall's enforcement led to stronger conservation laws because people and corporations were not permitted to continue practices contrary to law and detrimental to society. Ralston pledged to enforce the law equally, "Before the law the rich and the

³ Journal of the House of Representative of the State of Indiana, 1913 (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1913), 12.

⁴ Ibid., 70.

poor, the capitalist and the laborer must stand upon equality. As Governor I shall have no favorites in the execution of the law.”⁵

1913 Legislation

The 1913 Indiana General Assembly produced many bills that assisted conservation efforts. Legislation concerning water purity, drug regulation, tenement housing reform, forestry, hygiene, and boiler inspections all passed during the 1913 session. These bills were progressive in nature and reflected Ralston’s campaign pledges and the Indiana Democratic Party’s platform goals.

Forest conservation received more funding and greater publicity during the 1913 legislative session. The report of the State Board of Forestry for 1912 asked for the funds to create a forestry exhibit.⁶ Under Ralston’s leadership the Democratic legislature granted this request. The State Board of Forestry received an additional \$1,000 appropriation to establish “co-operative demonstrations, woodlot and forest planting investigations, and making an exhibit at the state fair.”⁷ With the extra appropriation, the State Board of Forestry expanded its work by constructing a display at the Indiana State Fair.

The provision for an exhibit at the State Fair allowed the State Board of Forestry to demonstrate forestry’s usefulness to the citizenry. The State Board of Forestry showed great pleasure in the appropriation for the display. “The people of the State will be given the opportunity of seeing an exhibit of Forestry in its many phases at the Fair early in

⁵ Ibid., 75.

⁶ Chas. C. Deam, Twelfth Annual Report of the State Board of Forestry, 1912 (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1913), 12.

⁷ Laws of the State of Indiana, 1913 (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1913), 586.

September.”⁸ The State Board of Forestry intended the exhibit to create favorable sentiment toward wood preservation, call attention to trees’ beauty and utility, and to stimulate desire to plant trees.⁹

The State Board of Forestry completed the State Fair exhibit for the 1915 event. On September 7, 1915, the Forestry Building dedication at the Indiana State Fair occurred. The building that housed the display lacked subtle qualities, with two-foot-high letters spelling “Forestry” so people far away saw the one-story building’s purpose. Inside the Forestry Building, displays taught visitors about Indiana forest products, soil erosion’s negative impact on Indiana and how trees prevent this, tree planting, pruning, care, and how to undertake tree surgery.¹⁰ Governor Ralston, former Vice-President Charles Warren Fairbanks, and State Board of Agriculture President Warren T. McCray all spoke at the dedication ceremony.¹¹ Fairbanks praised Ralston and the State Board of Forestry for their efforts regarding conservation. Fairbanks said, “Governor Ralston and the State Board of Forestry are dealing with one of the greatest subjects that is before the Hoosier commonwealth.”¹² The legislation passed in 1913 that made the exhibit possible and Ralston’s willingness to work with the State Board of Forestry led directly to the exhibit’s opening.

Governor Ralston spoke at the event, praising the work the board accomplished and complementing the exhibit’s educational value. Ralston urged citizens to plant trees on Indiana’s 4,000,000 acres of exhausted lands, arguing, “It would be comparatively

⁸ Ibid., 52.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Elijah A. Gladden, Thirteenth Annual Report of the State Board of Forestry, 1913 (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1914), 52-53.

¹¹ Elijah A. Gladden, Fifteenth Annual Report of the State Board of Forestry, 1915 (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1916), 79.

¹² Ibid., 80.

easy to grow trees upon this soil. It would be a great contribution to our state if these wasted acres were planted in forests.”¹³ The deforestation that occurred in the last half of the 19th century to make room for farmland removed so many trees that soil erosion occurred because tree roots did not hold soil in place, allowing the nutrient-rich top soil to enter rivers and wash away. In addition, the soil’s ability to retain moisture dropped due to the dramatic decline of forestation. Ralston encouraged the public to tour the new building and study its lesson, asking every person to help. Said Ralston, “Our forestry board is doing a great work, but it needs the hearty co-operation of all the people of Indiana.”¹⁴ Thousands visited the exhibition during its first year. In 1916, the State Board of Forestry’s exhibit at the State Fair drew 25,000 people. The State Board of Forestry interpreted such large numbers as a sign that Hoosiers have “interest in the preservation and conservation of our natural forests.”¹⁵

Effective forestry demonstrations began with Ralston’s term to combat what the State Board of Forestry termed “backward” people who needed help “carrying out reasonable methods in preserving and caring for their woodlots.”¹⁶ This campaign targeted farmers—the State Board of Forestry wanted more woodlots to help retain moisture and prevent soil erosion. The increased soil moisture that trees afforded the land meant crops could go longer periods without rain and still survive. The decrease in soil erosion ensured that Indiana’s fertile top soil did not wash away when heavy rain occurred, eliminating nutrients that crops needed to grow.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid., 77.

¹⁶ Gladden, Thirteenth Annual Report of the State Board of Forestry, 1913, 12.

Efforts to expand the number of Hoosiers engaged in conservation did not stop with appropriations for woodlot demonstrations. During the 1913 legislative session, Senate Bill 96 provided groups with at least five people the opportunity to form forestry associations to establish and maintain a public forest.¹⁷ Funds these groups raised were used to establish forests to grow more trees on Indiana's landscape. In 1912, the State Board of Forestry found success with such a program because it encouraged people to undertake forestry. The forests helped prevent soil erosion, but the main goal of these forests was to provide places where people could go to experience nature and get away from urban areas where industrial pollution harmed human health. Indianapolis News rated this forestry bill as one of the better pieces of legislation that passed in 1913. Pleased that "the forestry work of the state was not forgotten," the Indianapolis News called the acquisition and maintenance of forests a solid plan and "for the public good."¹⁸

Another achievement regarding conservation came when the Indiana General Assembly created Arbor Day. House Bill 339 provided that, "for the purpose of encouraging the planting of shade and forest trees, shrubs and vines," Arbor Day would serve as a public reminder to conserve trees. The bill emphasized schools celebrating Arbor Day. Encouraging interest in tree conservation in childhood would, hopefully, lead to a commitment to conservation later in life. Governor Ralston aided in establishing Arbor Day with his willingness to be involved with state festivities. During the 1914 celebration, Governor Ralston joined 300 school children in planting a sycamore tree near the executive offices at the statehouse. Ralston connected patriotism

¹⁷ Laws of the State of Indiana, 1913, 18.

¹⁸ Indianapolis News, 11 March 1913.

and obedience of the law with Arbor Day. Ralston claimed Arbor Day allowed the school children to show pride in their country with the “planting of trees.”¹⁹

Ralston’s Arbor Day proclamations reiterated natural resource conservation’s importance to the people and evinced his progressive stance regarding forestry. Claiming Indiana’s forests had commercial and emotional value, Ralston stated, “the conservation and restoration of our forests are of such admitted an varied importance that Indiana, as well as many other states, has made it a matter of public duty as well as private interest for the people to cooperate actively to that result.”²⁰ Ralston’s Arbor Day pronouncements assisted in establishing the celebration as a yearly event, ensuring future generations of Hoosiers learned trees’ importance to Indiana.

Human life conservation, in the form of sanitation legislation, continued under Ralston’s administration as well. House Bill 270, approved February 24, 1913, authorized the State Board of Health to investigate the portion of the public water supply coming from any “stream or body of water and is not filtered and is not of the purity by any law or ordinance in force.”²¹ The legislation endowed the State Board of Health with jurisdiction in cities and towns and the power to compel changes to remedy purity violations and also gave the board the power to levy, up to five hundred dollars, for each offense.

Additional laws regarding water quality passed the legislature and expanded the State Board of Health’s powers. House Bill 122, approved March 8, 1913, contained mandates to limit pollution to avoid large fish kills. The legislation, through fish

¹⁹ Indianapolis Star, 18 April 1914.

²⁰ “Spring Arbor Day Proclamation,” Samuel M. Ralston, 12 March 1916. Samuel M. Ralston Manuscript Collection, Indiana University Ruth Lilly Library, Box 5, “Correspondence 1915, July-1916 Mar. 20,” Folder “1916, Mar. 11-14.”

²¹ Laws of the State of Indiana 1913, 64.

conservation, improved recreational opportunities for people to fish and enjoy waterways for swimming. House Bill 122 stated:

It shall be unlawful for any person, firm or corporation, to cause suffer or permit any dye-stuff, acid, coal-tar, oil, logwood, or any refuse matter or substances whatever to be thrown, run or drained into any of the waters of this state in quantities sufficient to injure or destroy the lives of fish.²²

Fines reached up to \$1,000 for each day a source produced pollution. In concurrence with House Bill 122, Senate Bill 556 allowed neighboring municipalities to pool their resources together to maintain “a common outlet for the drainage and sewage or a joint system thereof that will conduce the preservation of the public health.”²³

Sanitation education for the state’s children received attention during Marshall’s term and expanded under Ralston’s leadership. Hoping to decrease disease transmission and increase the citizenry’s overall health, Senate Bill 171 mandated teaching sanitary practices in schools. Schools had to teach:

Anatomy, physiology, and hygiene of the human system; the effects of alcohol and nicotine; the cause and course of consumption; the dissemination of diseases by rats, flies and mosquitoes and the effects thereof, and the prevention of diseases by the proper selection and consumption of food.²⁴

Rat extermination in places that stored food also became law under this act and gave the State Board of Health jurisdiction to enforce the law and punish violators.²⁵

House Bill 515 gave the State Board of Health power to “acquire, lay out and improve land for public hospitals.”²⁶ The State Board of Health also had the power to appoint and set wages for city sanitarians, inspectors, bacteriologists, chemists, attorneys,

²² Ibid., 369.

²³ Ibid., 821.

²⁴ Ibid., 638.

²⁵ Ibid., 639.

²⁶ Ibid., 927.

and guards.²⁷ Combined with tenement housing legislation, the human health conservation laws passed in 1915 helped those living in cities where pollution adversely affected their health.

Human life conservation manifested itself in regulations regarding community living standards. Ralston publicly supported Senate Bill 118, which set even tighter regulations on tenement housing than the 1911 law, improving ventilation, drainage, sewage, and lighting.²⁸ On January 24, 1913, Albion Fellows Bacon—a key supporter and leading champion for tenement housing reform in Indiana—met with Governor Ralston before his address to the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) state executive committee. After listening to Bacon describe living conditions in the immigrant homes in Evansville, Indiana; Ralston changed his speech for that night and declared himself in favor of changing housing conditions that tend to “retard the moral advancement of young women.”²⁹ Ralston’s speech appeared in multiple newspapers and Bacon remarked that his words were “all we could have asked.”³⁰ Ralston’s willingness to speak in Senate Bill 118’s favor greatly assisted the bill to pass in the General Assembly.

Thanks to Ralston’s support, Senate Bill 118 passed the legislature and Ralston signed it on March 8, 1913. Unlike the 1911 law, the 1913 law applied statewide to incorporated cities. Senate Bill 118 still had drawbacks because it only applied to new buildings—old tenement houses were not affected under the law because violations of the law could trigger massive amounts of poor to lose their dwellings. Despite these

²⁷ Ibid., 928.

²⁸ Ibid., 381-390.

²⁹ Robert G. Barrows, *Albion Fellows Bacon: Indiana’s Municipal Housekeeper* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2000), 72.

³⁰ Ibid.

problems, support for the “tenement housing bill” came from all over the state— particularly from women’s groups and health organizations.

Bacon praised Ralston for his human life conservation efforts, stating, “The housing bill is such a big thing” and that she felt “relief and gratitude” for its passage.³¹ Bacon credited women’s clubs, charity organizations, the Anti-Tuberculosis Society, and preachers for assisting with the bill’s passage, but saved her most effusive comments for Ralston. Bacon said:

It did not require arguments, however, from all these organizations to convince the members of the legislature that the bill should be passed and would be a power for good in the state. The public statements made by Governor Ralston in the interest of the bill and in the welfare of boys and girls carried great weight.³²

According to Bacon, women’s clubs hailed the new tenement housing law. A letter from the Health Culture Department of the Kokomo Women’s Department Klub demonstrated the support Ralston received. The Health Culture Department commended Ralston and the Indiana State Board of Health. The Kokomo organization wrote, “We are heartily in sympathy with the work that has been done by the board for the enlightenment of the public on health topics and towards securing more sanitary conditions throughout the state.”³³

The Democrats exhibited their pride in the accomplishments of the 1913 Indiana General Assembly by campaigning on the progressive legislation passed. Human life and natural resource conservation received high praise from activists such as Bacon to Indianapolis newspapers. Ralston set a resolution for himself to emphasize conservation

³¹ Indianapolis News, 1 March 1913.

³² Ibid.

³³ Letter, Kathleen Cooper to Samuel M. Ralston, 11 March 1914. Samuel M. Ralston Collection, Indiana State Archives, Commission on Public Records, Box 125, Folder 5, “Health, State Board of.”

in 1914. "It is my resolution for 1914 to stand officially for better sanitary conditions," said Ralston, adding that he wants greater efficiency in public service to assist in carrying out his goal.³⁴

Conservation legislation's progressive nature highlighted the legislature's accomplishments. Ralston claimed:

The legislature gave the state permanent and increasingly beneficial legislation of such a high character that has rarely, if ever, been equaled in the history of the state. Laws, in obedience to popular demand for what is usually classified as progressive measures, were enacted, and critics at home and abroad have pronounced them equal if not superior to any laws of the kind in the other states.³⁵

In another speech, Ralston again praised the legislature, saying, "No legislature in the history of the state gave the people more far reaching, helpful and sanely progressive laws than did the last one. Fair minded and public spirited citizens of all parties have commended it in the highest terms and well might they."³⁶ Ralston particularly emphasized the laws improving sanitary conditions and public health.

Indianapolis newspapers agreed with Ralston's positive assessment of the bills the General Assembly passed and gave the governor much credit for the legislation.

Indianapolis News credited Ralston for acting against "bad bills." The newspaper wrote:

Everything appeared to be going wrong, and it looked as the session was in for a bad finish. Just at that time the Governor took a hand in the game. He got out his big stick, dusted it off and went to work. Only a few whacks were needed to bring the leaders of the legislature to their senses, and from that time on progress was made."³⁷

³⁴ Untitled resolution, Samuel M. Ralston, 1914. Samuel M. Ralston Manuscript Collection, Indiana University Ruth Lilly Library, Box 4, "Correspondence 1914, Sept-1915 June," Folder "1914, n.d."

³⁵ Untitled campaign speech, Samuel M. Ralston, 1914. Samuel M. Ralston Manuscript Collection, Indiana University Ruth Lilly Library, Box 4, "Correspondence 1914, Sept-1915," Folder "1914, n.d."

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Indianapolis News, 11 March 1913.

Indianapolis News praised the measures for which Ralston advocated strongly, such as the tenement housing bill, proclaiming, “the Governor throughout the session stood for what was right.”³⁸

1913 Flood

In 1913, natural disaster struck Indiana. Floods all over the state caused massive damage and destruction. In January, the Ohio River reached heights never seen before. In Evansville, homes and factories were evacuated because water levels extinguished furnace fires and flooded engine rooms.³⁹ Indianapolis also experienced high water on March 25, 1913. The Indianapolis Water Company shut down its water treatment plant due to the floods, leaving the city without a water supply. In addition to no drinkable water, natural gas distribution halted.⁴⁰ Reports of corpses in the streets and quarantines for disease circulated in the newspapers. Newspaper editorials and the Enterprise Civic League, formed by Indianapolis citizens after the 1913 flood, called for conservation measures to prevent future flood catastrophes. An editorial in the Indianapolis News made a plea for waterway conservation.

The financial loss in Dayton and Indianapolis will reach \$50,000,000. It is probably that both cities could have been saved financial loss and the lives of their citizens protected had only a small part of this sum been expended in the scientific control of erratic waterways.⁴¹

Governor Ralston took action aimed at preventing such occurrences again through conservation efforts.

In the immediate flood aftermath, Ralston personally assisted localities with purchases he made. Ralston sought to look after flood sufferers’ needs and to ensure

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Indianapolis Star, 17 January 1913.

⁴⁰ Indianapolis News, 25 March 1913.

⁴¹ Indianapolis News, 28 March 1913.

sanitary conditions existed in the flood-affected areas before allowing citizens back to their homes. Requests from localities around the state filled the governor's office—what he could do swiftly, he did. Requests for disinfecting agents, such as chloride of lime, were sent to the governor who then personally bought supplies from Indianapolis pharmacies and sent them to flooded areas.⁴²

Ralston also thought about flood prevention in the long term. Because the General Assembly did not meet in 1914, Ralston had to act on his own to accomplish improvements to state's waterways. With the support of groups such as the Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce, which presented Ralston with petitions illustrating the support for such a move, Ralston decided to name a commission to study flooding in Indiana.⁴³

Ralston and the Indiana Democratic Party featured their response to the 1913 floods in the midterm elections. In March 1914, the Indiana Democratic Party platform for the midterm elections carried specific wording supporting measures designed to prevent future floods. Referring to the great 1913 flood, the platform read:

This being a subject which affects the state generally, we believe that legislation should be enacted by the next general assembly which would enable the state to join with local authorities in the improvement of waterways, the construction of levees, and such other measures as will prevent repetition of these flood disasters.⁴⁴

Ralston acted a month later on April 20, 1914, officially appointing a state commission to investigate “the subject of floods in Indiana, to formulate plans for the prevention of flood disasters such as occurred in the spring of 1913 and make such recommendations to the Governor or the Legislature as may be agreed upon.”⁴⁵

⁴² Indianapolis News, 31 March 1913.

⁴³ Indianapolis News, 3 February 1914.

⁴⁴ Stoll, History of the Indiana Democracy, 425.

⁴⁵ Indianapolis News, 21 April 1914.

The Indiana Flood Commission first met April 30, 1914, and began a program to analyze floods in Indiana and to provide recommendations for Ralston and the state legislature. The commission concluded that new laws had to be passed because “existing laws forbid the participation of the state in the work of reconstruction and improvement of river beds and overflow districts and most of the cities which suffered heavy flood losses are unable to procure funds for the work.”⁴⁶ The devastation the flood caused hampered the localities’ ability to fund their own recovery; state assistance provided the only solution. Governor Ralston called on the commission to collect data, survey the flooded cities, and present the best possible plan for a new law.⁴⁷

The Indiana Flood Commission named W.K. Hatt, head of the civil engineering department of Purdue University, to lead the waterways survey in Indiana. Hatt wanted three assistant engineers to work for him but he did not have any money to pay them. Because Ralston appointed the Indiana Flood Commission without legislative approval, the commission did not have any state funds. Ralston solved this problem when he provided \$10,000 from the governor’s contingent fund to employ engineers and expenses involved in carrying out their duties. To justify the expenditure, Ralston claimed the money was worth it because it would assist in drafting positive legislation designed to prevent future floods. Ralston said:

The flood disaster of 1913 in this state alone was appalling and its serious consequences suggest the necessity for the state to make whatever efforts it can within reason to avoid, if possible, a repetition thereof. All things considered, I regard it as a matter of utmost importance to the public welfare of the state.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Indianapolis Star, 1 May 1914.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Indianapolis Star, 15 May 1914.

Set to their work, Hatt and his assistants surveyed Indiana's waterways for the rest of 1914 and prepared a report for the 1915 Indiana General Assembly. Governor Ralston placed much importance on the report and recommended that the legislature adopt the Indiana Flood Commission's suggestions verbatim. During Ralston's speech to the 1915 General Assembly, he emphasized the need for action regarding floods. Ralston said:

The damage and distress inflicted in the spring of 1913 by high waters upon our people living along certain rivers were so shocking that I appointed on my own motion a commission...the result of their labors will be laid before you, and I hope you will take such action regarding this subject as will, in your judgment so far as practicable, protect the people of out State against similar injuries in the future.⁴⁹

Ralston's advocacy for flood prevention legislation met with approval, being described as "wholly admirable."⁵⁰ Shortly after Ralston's speech, the Indiana Flood Commission submitted its report to the governor and the General Assembly, receiving strong support from Indiana's chief executive.

The Indiana Flood Commission ratified Hatt's report on January 7, 1915, and presented it to Governor Ralston. Based to a certain extent on the Ohio Conservancy Act, legislation the commission found to be effective, the report made specific recommendations for "reservoir and channel widening improvements," to avoid the disastrous type of floods which struck in 1913.⁵¹ Greater state control over flood conditions received support from the commission. The commission issued a report calling for the "wise regulation of flood preventive works so that they may not, while benefiting the particular locality for which they are designed, work hardship or damage

⁴⁹ Journal of the Indiana Senate, 1915 (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing and Binding, 1915), 35.

⁵⁰ Indianapolis News, 8 January 1915.

⁵¹ Indianapolis Star, 8 January 1915.

upon other localities.”⁵² The regulations were designed so that flood prevention efforts in one area, in the form of levees, would not channel excessively high waters downstream to areas without solid flood controls, dumping a large portion of flood waters in one place and increasing its destructiveness. In this regard, waterway conservation served both human life and natural resource conservation because waterways would be made more useful and prevent flooding-related deaths. To achieve effective waterway conservation, the report called for a state board given the power to remove or:

Prevent the establishment of dangerous stream obstructions on complaint and after investigation and hearing, to authorize the formation of flood control districts under specific plans upon petition and after hearings and to maintain the supervision of such districts for the welfare of the State.⁵³

The flood prevention measures advanced in the Indiana General Assembly received organized support from citizen organizations and local government. The Enterprise Civic League formed after the 1913 flood in Indianapolis, and lobbied for flood prevention efforts during the 1915 legislative session. W.F. Bornkamp, the league’s flood prevention chairman, fought for permanent flood prevention through legislation. Bornkamp had a strong partner in Governor Ralston, who fully supported flood prevention legislation and promised the Enterprise Civic League that he would sign the legislation once it passed.⁵⁴ The Indianapolis Board of Public Works wanted flood legislation as well. The board made an announcement that it made preparations to carry out plans for controlling the White River before the legislation passed, indicating its

⁵² “Report of the Indiana State Flood Commission,” E.W. Skirk, 11 January 1915. Samuel M. Ralston Collection, Indiana State Archives, Commission on Public Records, Box 115, Folder, “Flood Control: Relief and prevention 3.”

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Indianapolis News, 2 March 1915.

support for the new law.⁵⁵ Ralston's promise to sign any flood legislation that arrived at his desk placated pressure from the Enterprise Civic League and local government.

Ralston's work with the legislature regarding flood prevention legislation succeeded. The recommendations from Ralston's flood committee, his public support for the bills during his address to the Indiana General Assembly, and his promise to sign flood legislation all assisted in the bills' passage. Starting on March 6, 1915, and continuing on to March 8, Ralston signed seven bills designed to prevent floods such as those experienced in 1913. Indiana Daily Times deemed the flood prevention measures as some of the most important legislation during the 1915 legislature. Flood prevention legislation became "a decidedly important achievement."⁵⁶

The first flood prevention bill, Senate Bill 41, which Ralston signed on March 6, 1915, pertained specifically to Indianapolis. The legislation allowed cities of 100,000 people to protect the people through the "construction of levees, dykes, the removal of obstructions and the dredging and control of any streams."⁵⁷ Jurisdiction over streams within the city limits and out to four miles away from the city were under control of the Board of Public Works. County taxes on lands and lots that benefited from the conservation works paid for this plan.

On March 8, 1915, more flood prevention legislation passed. Senate Bill 113 provided flood prevention to the counties. Circuit and superior courts could create sanitary and reclamation districts. These districts were charged with draining and reclaiming swamps and wet and overflowed land for the "public benefit and conducive to

⁵⁵ Indiana Daily Times, 3 March 1915.

⁵⁶ Indiana Daily Times, 9 March 1915.

⁵⁷ Laws of the State of Indiana, 1915 (Indianapolis: Wm. B. Burford, Contractor for State Printing Binding, 1915), 143 & 147.

the preservation and promotion of public health, convenience, utility, and welfare.”⁵⁸

The reclamation efforts supported Indiana’s flood prevention activities because waterways could be widened, deepened, and cleaned out to prevent large water overflow to areas without levees. A county supervisory board carried out waterway maintenance in the drainage districts. Flood legislation also gave flood control to Allen County and Fort Wayne, and third-, fourth-, and fifth-class cities.⁵⁹

The 1913 floods gave natural resource conservation greater emphasis in the legislature, the press, and citizen groups. The floods’ aftermath illustrated the way natural resource conservation could have reduced the disaster’s enormity and could have prevented property destruction and flooding-related deaths. Flood prevention and waterway conservation were not the only natural resource efforts taken during Governor Ralston’s term. Forest conservation came to the forefront during Ralston’s last years in office.

State Parks

Perhaps Ralston’s longest-lasting contribution to conservation in Indiana came from his work establishing the first state parks, Turkey Run and McCormick’s Creek.⁶⁰ Before the expansion of industrialization and urbanization during the mid and late 1800s, trees covered Indiana. Due to logging spurred by industrialization, the state became denuded and the great forests that covered Indiana were largely destroyed. In a way, Indiana’s natural heritage was replaced by farms. Public sentiment during Ralston’s

⁵⁸ Laws of the State of Indiana, 1915, 209.

⁵⁹ Laws of the State of Indiana, 1915, 311-314.

⁶⁰ For more information regard Midwestern forestry effort outside Indiana see: Rebecca Conard, Places of Quite Beauty: Parks, Preserves, and Environmentalism (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1997), and Susan Flader, ed., The Great Lakes Forest: An Environmental and Social History (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press in association with Forest History Society, Inc., Santa Cruz, 1983).

administration turned to preservationist ideas toward nature and manifested itself in the movement for state parks, where people could visit to get away from an increasingly mechanized and polluted society. The State Board of Forestry contributed to this growing sentiment. In an August 25, 1913, press bulletin, the board began to “create a sentiment in favor of wood preservation,” and emphasized “the beauty and charm of the trees themselves, whether used as ornaments to the home grounds, as shade trees along avenues, as necessary adjuncts to beautiful parks.”⁶¹ The State Board of Forestry’s essay contest for 1914 focused not on using trees wisely but rather on preserving trees. Newly-appointed Board Secretary Elijah Gladden stated through the essay contest that the “state board is trying to interest everyone in the preservation of our native forests.”⁶²

Articles ran in newspapers proclaiming the need for people to get out and experience nature. Writing that “coming down in the street cars one may notice the lazy expressions on the faces of the office-cooped men and women,” the Indianapolis Daily Sun stated people had to get outside because, “it can not be avoided at this time of the year—the longing to be out in the fresh country and see the wild flowers, there is something that seems to demand that you go out for a walk on the delightful Sunday afternoons.”⁶³ With newspapers running articles touting nature’s benefits, and the State Board of Forestry’s work stating the same thing, state parks gained publicity. Governor Ralston used this publicity to help his efforts to establish Indiana’s state parks.

Though Ralston did not realize it at the time, his call for a commission to organize state celebrations for Indiana’s centennial birthday led to the establishment of Indiana’s first state parks. During his speech to the 1915 Indiana General Assembly, he said, “I

⁶¹ Gladden, Thirteenth Annual Report of the State Board of Forestry, 1913, 52.

⁶² Indianapolis Evening Sun, 15 January 1914.

⁶³ Indianapolis Evening Sun, 19 April 1914.

favor...the creation of a nonpolitical and nonsalaried centennial commission,” and the commission “should be authorized to have such public celebration of this anniversary as its members may deem fit and proper.”⁶⁴ The legislature took Ralston’s recommendation to heart and passed legislation creating the Indiana Historical Commission. Signed into law on March 8, 1915, the bill charged the Indiana Historical Commission with publishing an Indiana history book and planning official state celebrations, appropriated \$25,000 to fund the commission’s work, and allowed Ralston to appoint six of the nine commission members in addition to himself.⁶⁵ Eventually, after many twists and turns, the Indiana Historical Commission, under Ralston’s leadership, facilitated creating Indiana’s state parks.

Just over a month after the General Assembly approved the Indiana Historical Commission, a letter from Rockville’s Juliet V. Strauss reached Governor Ralston’s desk. A tract of virgin forest known as Turkey Run came up for auction and Strauss wanted Ralston to save the land from the timber industry.⁶⁶ Ralston took quick action to acquiesce to Strauss’s request. On April 27, 1915, Ralston appointed Strauss, William W. Woolen, and Vida Newsom to a Turkey Run Commission and charged them with preserving Turkey Run for the state so that future generations could take in the “grandeur of nature” and its “primitive beauty.”⁶⁷ Thanks to Strauss’s letter and what Democratic historian John B. Stoll called Ralston’s interest “in the preservation of the natural

⁶⁴ Journal of the Indiana Senate, 1915, 47.

⁶⁵ Laws of the State of Indiana, 1915, 455-456.

⁶⁶ Suellen Hoy, “Samuel M. Ralston: Progressive Governor, 1913–1917” (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1975, 198-199.

⁶⁷ “Turkey Run Commission,” Samuel M. Ralston, 27 April 1915. Juliet V. Strauss Collection, Indiana State Library, Manuscript Section, Folder “S 3084.”

resources and beauty spots of the state,” Governor Ralston set into motion events that established Indiana’s state parks.⁶⁸

Newspapers quickly picked up on the issue, frequently placing reports about Turkey Run in their issues, sometimes written by Turkey Run Commission members. Indianapolis News ran an article May 21, 1915, written by William Woolen, describing Turkey Run’s beauty and calling for “some public spirited wealthy individual or individuals to come forward and advance the money needful to buy the property and hold it until legislation can be had so that the state can take it over as a state reservation.”⁶⁹ Woolen’s articles also appeared in the Indianapolis Star. These articles emphasized Turkey Run’s beauty and argued that the state should have control to ensure that “people of moderate means may go for a day, a month or more for rest, recreation and study of the outdoor world. In other words, such parks ought to be created for all of the people.”⁷⁰

Enos Mills, an expert on parks in the United States, had encouraging words about Turkey Run and lent even more support to state park establishment and tied the movement to Indiana’s centennial celebration. Mills hoped that “Governor Ralston and all public-spirited citizens of the state will make preparations” to establish state parks, noting that without the inauguration of state parks for the centennial celebration there would be “no celebration at all.”⁷¹ Mills’ opinions were featured in various newspapers around the state and the newspapers responded with editorials evincing support for state parks. Indiana Daily Times remarked, “Indiana should give especial thought and energetic effort in 1916 to the conservation of her wonderful natural resources. The

⁶⁸ Stoll, History of the Indiana Democracy, 446.

⁶⁹ Indianapolis News, 21 May 1915.

⁷⁰ Indianapolis Star, 4 July 1915 & 11 July 1915.

⁷¹ Indianapolis News, 12 November 1915.

centennial year ought to be made the occasion for activity and organization looking to the preservation of Indiana's remarkable scenic beauty spots as public parks."⁷²

Also during November 1915, Richard Lieber called on Governor Ralston to discuss Indiana's centennial celebration and the movement to save Turkey Run. Lieber, a German-born American became very interested in conservation in 1910 and felt strongly that "one solution" to end "the destruction of the forests, the neglect of the historical places and the beauty spots that mean health and happiness" was to create a system of state parks as a permanent memorial of the centennial celebration.⁷³ Ralston did not raise any objections to the idea and, with Strauss' recommendation, named Lieber to the Turkey Run Commission on January 14, 1916.⁷⁴

The conversation Lieber had with Ralston, along with constant reports about the need to explore nature, led to the Indiana Historical Commission adopting state parks' establishment as part of the centennial celebration. During an Indiana Historical Commission meeting in late January 1916 the suggestion of state parks as a centennial memorial met with "spontaneous and enthusiastic support."⁷⁵ The Indiana Historical Commission cited "the consensus of Hoosier opinion," which wanted the "setting apart of certain tracts, either because of their historical associations or because of their scenic attraction and primeval charms, as State Parks for the people, would be a peculiarly fitting memorial of our Centennial year."⁷⁶ Also at Ralston's insistence, Lieber accepted the Indiana Historical Commission's invitation to serve as chairman of the newly created

⁷² Indiana Daily Times, 11 January 1916.

⁷³ Hoy, "Samuel M. Ralston," 200-2001.

⁷⁴ Letter, Samuel M. Ralston to Juliet V. Strauss. Samuel M. Ralston Collection, Indiana State Archives, Commission on Public Records, Box 128, Folder "Correspondence, Turkey Run, 2."

⁷⁵ "Centennial News Letter," Harlow Lindley, 6 March 1916. Samuel M. Ralston Collection, Indiana State Archives, Commission on Public Records, Box 116, Folder, "Indiana Centennial 15."

⁷⁶ Ibid. Box 7, "Correspondence 1916, Sept. 1917 Oct." Folder "1916, a.d."

state park memorial committee, of which Turkey Run was to be a part.⁷⁷ Lieber's presence on the state park memorial committee brought passion to the task at hand—something Ralston knew would help in a successful bid to create Indiana's first state parks. Support for the parks became readily apparent. Lieber's committee resolved that public subscriptions should be taken to assist in purchasing Turkey Run at its May 18, 1916, auction. Indianapolis Star noted "the widespread interest in the campaign to save Bloomingdale Glens and Turkey Run from the timber wolves."⁷⁸ The Hoosier State Motor Club and The Federation of Women's Clubs and Daughters of the American Revolution of Indiana became "sterling advocates" for Turkey Run's preservation.⁷⁹ Men from the Board of Trade and the Chamber of Commerce also became involved with the movement. Nearly 100 newspapers across the state supported the issue, promising to "give cordial support to the movement by widespread publicity, and that they will act as representatives of the committee in receiving public subscriptions to the parks fund."⁸⁰

Some of the biggest support for public subscriptions came from Governor Ralston after the Indiana Historical Commission called on him for help. Claiming, "Considerable money in public subscriptions will be required," the Indiana Historical Commission asked Ralston to assist in publicizing the need for the public's support to make state parks a reality.⁸¹ On April 12, 1916, Ralston issued an official proclamation calling for donations to make the Turkey Run purchase possible during the week of April 24, 1916.

⁷⁷ Hoy, "Samuel M. Ralston," 201-202.

⁷⁸ Indianapolis Star, 12 February 1916.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Indiana Daily Times, 11 January 1916.

⁸¹ Indiana Historical Commission. Samuel M. Ralston Manuscript Collection, Indiana University Ruth Lilly Library. Box 7, "Correspondence 1916, Sept.-1917. Oct," Folder "1916, n.d."

Ralston took this action "believing in the great civic value that in the present and succeeding generations will come to the people of Indiana through the proposed system of state parks."⁸² The Governor's appeal to the people paid off. When the fund-raising came to an end, the park committee announced that it collected \$20,000, \$5,000 short of its goal but a substantial amount of money none-the-less.⁸³ Ralston's help gave the Indiana Historical Commission a decent chance of purchasing Turkey Run.

In addition to Ralston's proclamation, pamphlets were produced that explained why Indiana needed to purchase Turkey Run. Lamenting the destruction of most of Indiana's original forests, the pamphlet advocated that, "the second century of Hoosier Statehood can be marked by the development, through preservation, of still another great resource of public value-natural scenery and those historical spots that have been handed down to use in the last one hundred years."⁸⁴ The pamphlets were designed to help spur public subscriptions.

Turkey Run's auction did not go according to plan. On May 18, 1916, over two thousand people gathered in Turkey Run to bid on the property. Token bids from various lumber companies were fended off by the state committee. When the bidding reached \$21,000, Leo M. Rappaport, the state park committee's representative shouted out a \$30,100 bid designed to scare off other contenders. Unfortunately for the committee's plans, Joseph Gross, a representative of the Hoosier Veneer Company bid \$30,200 for the

⁸² "A Proclamation urging the week of April 24, 1916 be dedicated to raising funds for state parks," Samuel M. Ralston, April 1916. Samuel M. Ralston Manuscript Collection, Indiana University Ruth Lilly Library, Box 6, "Correspondence 1916, Mar. 21-Aug. 31," Folder "1916, Apr. 11-15."

⁸³ Hoy, "Samuel M. Ralston," 203.

⁸⁴ Indiana State Parks Pamphlet, Richard Lieber, May 1916. Samuel M. Ralston Manuscript Collection, Indiana University Ruth Lilly Library, Box 6, "Correspondence 1916, Mar. 21-Aug. 31," Folder "1916, May 21-25."

property, \$100 more than the Turkey Run Commission could afford.⁸⁵ Defeated in their efforts to procure the Turkey Run property, Ralston and the committee did not give up.

Ralston made his intentions to continue the fight known in a letter to commission member Juliet V. Strauss. Stating that there “is nothing short of committing a crime” to secure Turkey Run, Ralston reassured Strauss the state “will ultimately come into possession of this beauty spot.”⁸⁶ More public support came to the commission to purchase Turkey Run. Arthur Newby and the Board of Directors of the Indianapolis Motor Speedway Association sent a letter to the Indiana State Park Memorial Committee offering to pay one third of the cost to acquire Turkey Run.⁸⁷ Negotiations with the Hoosier Veneer Company occurred during the 1916 summer and fall and finally on November 11, 1916, the property was purchased for \$40,200.⁸⁸

Ralston’s persistence regarding Turkey Run did not go unnoticed. Richard Lieber credited Ralston for Turkey Run’s successful purchase. Lieber said, “During all our work we were supported by the active and sustained interest of Governor Ralston and I wish to take this occasion to extend to him the thanks of our Committee.”⁸⁹ Ralston’s support for Turkey Run never wavered and without his actions it is doubtful that Indiana would have processed the park. Ralston’s efforts to raise money, serve on the Turkey Run Committee, and willingness to listen to people such as Juliet V. Strauss and Richard Lieber all were key components that enabled Indiana to buy Turkey Run.

⁸⁵ Hoy, “Samuel M. Ralston,” 204.

⁸⁶ Letter, Samuel M. Ralston to Juliet V. Strauss, 31 May 1916. Samuel M. Ralston Manuscript Collection, Indiana University Ruth Lilly Library, Box 6, “Correspondence 1916 Mar. 21-Aug. 31,” Folder “1916, May 26-31.”

⁸⁷ Letter, Arthur Newby to the Indiana State Park Memorial Committee, 2 November 1916. Samuel M. Ralston Manuscript Collection, Indiana University Ruth Lilly Library, Box 7, “Correspondence 1916, Sept.-1917, Oct.,” Folder “1916, Nov. 1-5.”

⁸⁸ Richard Lieber, Indiana Historical Commission Report, November 1916, in David M. Silver, “Richard Lieber and Indiana’s Forest Heritage,” Indiana Magazine of History 162, No. 3 (September 1971): 53

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

Ralston's actions regarding Turkey Run had additional benefits and showed the public's support for conservation. During the summer negotiations for Turkey Run, another scenic area became available for purchase. A committee of citizens from Owen County informed the Turkey Run Committee about McCormick's Creek, a beautiful area in the south-central part of Indiana. The Centennial Memorial Committee viewed McCormick's Creek and immediately offered to buy the \$5,250 property if Owen County residents would raise one fourth of the purchase price.⁹⁰ Owen County residents raised the money and the property became Indiana's first state park.⁹¹

Indiana's purchase of Turkey Run became the last action Governor Ralston took regarding conservation. James P. Goodrich, former Indiana Republican chairman, won the 1916 gubernatorial election when he united the progressive and conservative factions in the Republican Party, ending Democratic dominance in Indiana's highest office. Ralston's term marked continued strides for conservation legislation in Indiana as Democrats enacted progressive legislation to fulfill their campaign promises. These promises regarding conservation gave Democrats needed progressive credentials during a political era that demanded government action to improve society. Human life conservation expanded, with improved housing regulations, water purity legislation, and pure food laws. Natural resource conservation advanced with the introduction of Arbor Day, greater powers given to the State Board of Forestry, flood control legislation, and state park establishment with the purchase of Turkey Run and McCormick's Creek. Ralston's efforts regarding the state park system are his longest-living legacy as they are still in existence today.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Hoy, "Samuel M. Ralston," 206.

Conclusion

The conservation movement in the United States has intellectual roots that stretch well back into the 19th century. In 1864, George Perkins Marsh wrote Man and Nature to alert the public about his concern that man disrupts nature's balance through waste. Marsh's efforts to educate the general population about the dangers that the country faced if conservation practices were not adopted did not gain significant public support. The negative effects that the industrial revolution and urban growth wrought on society were not readily apparent to Americans and they did not see the need to combat a problem they did not comprehend.

Gradually, conservation gained more acceptance. Natural resource and human health conservation received more interest once the wasteful affects of industrialization and urbanization fully manifested. Industrialization and urbanization led to greater natural resource consumption through manufacturing and growing cities where the populace needed provisions from the countryside to survive. Natural resource and human life conservation fought against the problems faced by Americans. Conservation benefited human health through pollution controls and sanitary laws. Conservation lengthened the usefulness of natural resources through scientific management and curbed industrial waste.

It is important to analyze natural resource conservation and human health conservation together because people in the Progressive Era viewed these conservation efforts as a connected movement. Historians tend to focus on natural resource conservation, particularly forestry and parks. Such a narrow view of conservation

eliminates a significant part of the overall movement and ignores campaign rhetoric politicians used when they spoke about conservation.

The relationship between natural resource and human health conservation is very clear when studying how conservation was turned into policy by politicians. Politicians referred to natural resource and human health conservation in the same breath, connecting the issues together. On the national level, politicians began to advocate strong conservation laws to combat rising concerns about shortages and environmental and human health destruction. One of the highest profile political proponents was President Theodore Roosevelt. During his presidency, Roosevelt expanded the national parks, reserved natural resources in the public domain, championed pure food legislation, and raised public awareness about conservation.

On the state level, Indiana slowly developed conservation policies and these policies played a significant role in the gubernatorial elections of 1908 and 1912. As early as 1881, scientists such as Purdue University's Charles L. Ingersoll called for timber conservation. But few heeded his warnings, and a large portion of Indiana's forests were cut during the late 1800s. Conservation efforts increased after 1900. In 1901, Indiana established the State Board of Forestry and, in 1903, Indiana created forest reserves in Clark County. The State Board of Health gained oversight of sanitary conditions in Indiana, but law enforcement was lax. Conservation came to the forefront—politically and practically—in the 1908 Indiana gubernatorial campaign as candidates for office promised more conservation efforts and carried out these pledges through effective administration and new laws.

From 1909–1917 the once dominant Indiana Republican Party shifted to the minority as Democrats seized control of Indiana’s governing power. The Progressive Era caused great strife in the Republican Party as it began to fracture during Governor J. Frank Hanly’s term from 1905–1909. Conservative forces within the Indiana Republican Party resisted progressive changes. The strife stemmed largely from Republican Theodore Roosevelt’s presidency because it established conservation squarely within the realm of progressive ideology. Roosevelt, along with U.S. Chief Forester Gifford Pinchot, actively urged Americans to support and take part in conservation efforts to ensure the United States did not totally drain its natural resources. Roosevelt and Pinchot organized the 1908 Conference of the Governors to address the nation’s conservation problems. The Conference gained widespread newspaper coverage because it marked the first time the nation’s governors gathered to meet in one setting to discuss any issue. This first such meeting increased interest and support for conservation and showed the need for natural resource and human life conservation. Roosevelt advanced natural resource and human life conservation as necessary to sustain and improve the country. Conservative Republicans did not agree with Roosevelt’s ideas. The progressive–conservation split manifested itself in the Indiana Republican Party in 1908.

At the same time Indiana Republicans fractured, Indiana Democrats united. Unable to win the governor’s office since 1896, Indiana Democrats desperately wanted to reclaim the highest office in Indiana. Theodore Roosevelt had great popularity in Indiana, garnering solid electoral support from Indiana Democrats. The Indiana Democratic Party emphasized a new commitment to conservation to attract Roosevelt Democrats back to party line voting and to lure dissatisfied Republicans to their ranks.

Beginning with the 1908 Indiana Democratic Party Convention, and continuing with the 1912 Convention, Democrats made conservation a significant plank in their party platform. Like President Roosevelt, the Indiana Democratic Party advocated new human life and natural resource conservation legislation to improve the state. Indiana Democrats championed human life conservation in the form of laws regarding pure food, pure water, sanitation, and housing reform. Natural resource conservationists focused on waterway improvement, forestry planning, and state parks. Conservation allowed Indiana Democrats to address the negative affects that industrialization and urbanization had on city dwelling Hoosiers. Through conservation, the Indiana Democratic Party showed Hoosiers that they had solutions to the problems urbanites faced. Since the cities contained a large percentage of the population, the strategy enabled Indiana Democrats to appear concerned about a significant number of voters. The Democrat's plan worked, as they captured control of Indiana's government from 1908-1916.

Combined with the Indiana Democratic Party's emphasis on conservation, the party nominated two men for governor who actively backed these proposals. In 1908, Thomas Riley Marshall's nomination for governor provided Indiana Democrats with a fantastic proponent for Democratic values. Marshall became a steady champion for Indiana's Democratic platform and explained the benefits that it contained to Hoosiers across the state. Marshall backed interior waterway improvements that Roosevelt so famously championed, which increased his popularity among Roosevelt supporters.

Marshall advocated for human conservation during his first campaign as well. The 1906 Meat Inspection and Pure Food and Drug Acts passed law under Roosevelt's leadership became popular, and Marshall strongly supported a state law to further

guarantee food safety. Marshall also attacked Governor Hanly's administration for not taking conservation seriously. Marshall criticized Hanly for lax enforcement of existing conservation laws and for being too concerned about politics to do the right thing. Marshall promised Hoosiers that he would efficiently and affectively enforce the law, ensuring that past and future conservation laws would be put into full effect. Funds insufficient for state agencies to execute their purpose—such as in the State Board of Forestry—and lack of direction from Governor Hanly, made the Republican administration seem like it did not care about conservation.

Marshall's arguments regarding conservation succeeded, and he won the 1908 gubernatorial campaign. True to his campaign promises, Marshall encouraged much more vigorous enforcement of conservation laws and strongly encouraged new laws that would increase the effectiveness of conservation efforts. Violators of pure food laws were punished more frequently under Marshall's administration, and the State Board of Health's power increased dramatically. Slaughterhouses and water supplies had to meet higher standards to protect the public health. Tenement housing reform occurred in Indianapolis and Evansville, mandating minimum standards for human living conditions and conserving human life through state regulation. Marshall installed an active, practical forester to head the State Board of Forestry. Charles C. Deam expanded the State Board of Forestry's duties, bringing forestry education to farmers and school children across Indiana. His research led to more efficient reforestation efforts. Marshall's leadership also came from his public pronouncements and actions. His involvement with the Indiana branch of the National Conservation Association solidified Marshall's position as a leader in Indiana's conservation effort. Marshall's call for more

power in the State Board of Health led to better pure food law enforcement and more effective laws. Marshall's insistence on a new professional state forester meant that state efforts regarding forestry improved greatly.

During his four years as Indiana's governor, Marshall gained great popularity. The Indiana Democratic Party stuck closely to the issues Marshall emphasized during his campaign, hoping to transfer his popularity to their next gubernatorial candidate. The 1912 Indiana Democratic Convention passed a party platform that once again placed importance on conservation to appeal to progressive-minded voters. The party's nominee for governor, Samuel Moffett Ralston, took Marshall's success as a model for his candidacy.

Like 1908, 1912 featured a fractured Republican Party. Historian Clifton J. Phillips wrote that the 1912 election brought crisis between conservatives and progressives.¹ Former Indiana Republican State Chairman Edwin M. Lee led progressive Republicans away from the Republican Party and toward the new Progressive Party, headed by Theodore Roosevelt. As Marshall did in the 1908 campaign, Ralston advanced conservation issues, using rhetoric that integrated conservation of human life with conservation of natural resources. Ralston supported pure food laws and promised strong enforcement of state laws to appeal to progressive voters. Ralston's stance on pure food laws earned him praise from pure food advocate and Republican Harvey W. Wiley, who urged Hoosiers to vote for Democrats, and specifically Ralston, because of their progressive views on human conservation. Ralston's 1912 campaign stump speech included language that emphasized sanitary conditions to conserve the health of the

¹ Clifton Phillips, Indiana in Transition: The Emergence of an Industrial Commonwealth, 1880-1920 (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1968), 114.

working class. Ralston's speech also called for natural resource conservation, warning Hoosiers that action had to be taken to prevent waste and guarantee natural resource's future use. Ralston's conservation language fit with the 1912 National Conservation Congress, which served as a reminder that conservation affected the nation and showed that Ralston fell in line with the meeting's progressive nature.

Ralston's gubernatorial term ran similarly to Marshall's. Natural resource and human life conservation legislation and advocacy never waned. Ralston energetically boosted Arbor Day celebrations and helped the State Board of Forestry expand its influence even further with his support and speeches publicizing the forestry exhibit at the Indiana State Fair. The Tenement Housing reform bill easily passed during Ralston's term as he publicly supported Albion Fellows Bacon's attempts to expand state regulation further than the law passed under Marshall. Ralston's public support for the bill played a major role in its passage. Ralston guided the flood prevention legislation, which passed during the 1915 General Assembly and furthered his devotion to conservation. He appointed a commission to study the floods of 1913, which provided the blueprint for 1915 state laws designed to combat catastrophic flooding in the future. His pledge to sign the legislation, once passed, also gave the bills more chance to pass. Indiana's state parks also owe a debt of gratitude to Ralston. His work with the Centennial Celebration Committee established by the General Assembly, and his skillful appointment of Richard Lieber to the Indiana State Park Memorial Committee that diligently worked to secure Turkey Run and McCormick's Creek, directly resulted in the formation of Indiana's state parks.

John Adair, the Democratic nominee for governor, lost to Republican James P. Goodrich in 1916, ending the Democrats' eight-year control of Indiana's executive branch. The voters also returned an Indiana General Assembly with Republican majorities to both houses. The 1916 election marked the end of the Progressive Party and a wider political emphasis on progressive-minded legislation, such as conservation. Election results for the Progressive Party were poor, not capturing a single statewide office. Indiana Republican Chairman Will H. Hays brought progressives back into the Republican fold, removing conservation as a wedge issue Democrats could use to divide Republican followers. Reconsolidation of the Republican Party united behind a single candidate eliminated conditions similar to 1908 and 1912 when the Republicans fractured, and Democrats took advantage of the Republican's disorder.

The conservation efforts began under the leadership of Marshall and Ralston did not end with their political careers, instead they marked the beginning of the Indiana state government's efforts to improve human health and natural resources. Governor Goodrich created the Indiana Department of Conservation in 1919 to efficiently run conservation policies in Indiana. Governor Paul V. McNutt's victory in the 1932 election brought conservation to the forefront once again as he used conservation as a way to organize support for his administration and political campaigns.² During the New Deal under President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, more parks appeared across Indiana. In the 1960s and 1970s, the modern environmental movement developed and its roots are found in the conservation movement of the Progressive Era.

² Jerry, L. Wheeler, "Fish Pheasants and Politics: Paul McNutt and the Popularization of Conservation in 1930s Indiana" (Master's Thesis: Indiana University, 2002), 13.

During Marshall and Ralston's terms, Indiana followed cautiously progressive tracks, as Marshall identified himself as a "progressive with the brakes on" Ralston called Hoosiers "conservatively progressive." The United States' industrial turn that started in the 1800s, led to more pollution, deforestation, strains on energy resources, and general human health degradation due to the deteriorated environment. In reaction to the negative effects industrialization caused, many Americans and Hoosiers clamored for governmental policies that provided solutions to these problems. Marshall and Ralston championed progressive conservation legislation intended to improve natural resources and human health in reaction to Hoosiers' call for remedial actions and their belief that such legislation would improve Indiana for present and future generations. Marshall and Ralston's terms marked the first significant era when conservation made political headway in Indiana.

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